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THE

HISTORY

OF

THE WAR

OF

Seventeen hundred and forty one.

By M. de VOLTAIRE.

In TWO PARTS.

THE SECOND EDITION.

LONDON,

Printed for J. NOURSE at the *Lamb* oppoſite *Katherine-ſtreet* in the *Strand.*

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THE

THE HISTORY OF THE WAR of 1741.

CHAP. I.

Situation of the affairs of Europe, and a ſketch of the hiſtory of thoſe events which preceded the war of 1741.

I Have always conſidered the Chriſtian powers of Europe as one great republic, whoſe parts all correſpond with each other, even when they endeavour at their mutual deſtruction. A general conſent has eſtabliſhed what we call the laws of war, laws unknown to other nations: the point of precedency or rank of almoſt every prince has been regulated: the Catholics have two cities in common; one of which is Malta, the center of perpetual war againſt the enemies of the Chriſtian name; the other is Rome, which, in more reſpects than one, is ſo far the capital of the different kingdoms profeſſing the Roman Catholic religion, that each has a right to nominate one of the principal miniſters of the ſovereign,

and that their eccleſiaſtic (and even temporal) cauſes are tried there by the tribunal of the Rota, compoſed of judges taken from each nation. Upon the frontiers of all catholic ſtates the ſovereigns have territories ſubject to the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction of a foreign biſhop: nothing is more frequent than to ſee the privileges, the honours, and even the military orders of one country conferred on the inhabitants of another: moſt princes have even ſovereignties ſituated in the midſt of a foreign ſtate; thus it is that the pope is poſſeſſed of Avignon in France, and of Benevento in the kingdom of Naples; and thus the Venetians have ſovereignties in the midſt of the Milaneſe. There is not a prince in Germany, part of whoſe territories are not ſomewhere incloſed by thoſe of another prince.

In all theſe ſtates the old Roman law is in full force; they have all the ſame learned language; and the ſeveral courts have adopted the ſame living tongue. Commerce has ſtill ſtrengthened theſe connexions: merchants maintain ſo cloſe a correſpondence, even in time of war, that the Engliſh have been conſtantly intereſted in the Spaniſh trade, even while they were armed for the deſtruction of that monarchy; ſo that when their privateers took a prize, they really plundered their own countrymen. In ſhort, the wars carried on by Chriſtian powers are in ſuch a manner civil wars, that in 1701 Victor Duke of Savoy was fighting againſt his two ſons-in-law: the prince of Vaudemont commanded for the Spaniards in the dukedom of Milan; while his ſon, who had followed the

Auſtrian

Auſtrian party, was very near taking his own father priſoner. In the war carried on by the duke of Orleans, regent of France, in 1718, againſt his couſin Philip V. king of Spain, the duke of Liria ſerved againſt his father the duke of Berwick. In the war whoſe hiſtory I am going to relate, the kings of France, Spain, Poland, and the elector of Bavaria, were the neareſt relations of the queen of Hungary whoſe territories they invaded; and the elector of Bavaria, in particular, grounded his right to ſtrip her, on that very connexion of blood. During the courſe of this war, Francis, great duke of Tuſcany, the preſent emperor, kept an envoy * at Paris, whoſe children were fighting againſt this very prince: and the ſons of the chief miniſter of Tuſcany were all engaged in the French ſervice. A thouſand inſtances of this kind were before our eyes, and yet did not ſurprize us.

The ſovereigns of the different ſtates in this part of the world are all allied either by blood or by treaties; and yet they very ſeldom conclude either a marriage or a treaty, which does not prove the ſource of diſcord.

Commerce, by which they are alſo neceſſarily connected, generally divides them: theſe two motives of war are unknown to the reſt of the world: they know of no ſuch thing as a wife bringing war to her huſband for her dower, by pretenſions to a diſtant province; they know of no act of confraternity among princes; of no reverſion of one family to another not at all related

* The marquiſs of Stainville.

to that family; of no little fiefs yielding homage at the ſame time to ſeveral great ſovereigns, who are diſputing with each other about the homage and the fief itſelf, as it frequently happens in Germany and in Italy. Hence it is that, excepting the invaſions of conquerors, which are ſtill more cruel in Aſia than in Europe, and the unavoidable quarrels in regard to frontiers, eſpecially betwixt the Turks and the Perſians, Aſia enjoys almoſt a perpetual peace.

Thoſe who examine cloſely into the great events of this ſublunary world, obſerve that there have been forty ſevere wars in Europe ſince 1600; and that there has been only one war of any conſequence in Great Tartary, in China, and in the Indies, countries of far greater extent, more populous and richer than Europe: in fine, there has been no war at all either in Aſia, Africa, or America, concerning commerce, which has not been excited by European nations.

The marriage of Maximilian I. afterwards emperor of Germany, to Mary of Burgundy, had been, during three centuries, a bone of contention between the houſe of France and that of Auſtria. The American and Aſiatic commerce proved afterwards a new ſubject of diſcord in Europe: and it was the great quarrels between Charles V. and Francis I. that firſt gave riſe to the ſyſtem of equilibrium, which in our days has been the cauſe of ſo many wars and confederacies. Henry VIII. king of England, finding himſelf ſituated between thoſe two powerful rivals, wanted to hinder either of them from oppreſſing the other; he took for

his

his device an archer holding his bow ſtretched, with theſe words; *He whom I defend ſhall be maſter:* but if this prince held the balance, he held it with a very unſteady hand.

Queen Elizabeth conſtantly aſſiſted Henry IV. who was oppreſſed by the houſe of Auſtria; and the united provinces were indebted for their liberty to the protection of Elizabeth and to this very Henry IV. England and Holland continued to be allies of France, ſo long as the houſe of Auſtria continued to be formidable to thoſe powers. Though the knot which joined them might have been ſometimes ſlackened, it was never intirely broke, for they were too ſenſible of their real intereſts.

The proteſtant princes of Germany were likewiſe the natural allies of France, becauſe, ever ſince the reign of Charles V. they were afraid of the houſe of Auſtria's growing too mighty, ſo as to endanger the liberty of the empire. The Swedes were therefore invited into Germany by thoſe proteſtant princes, by France, and even by Rome herſelf, who dreaded the authority of the emperors, which had been long diſputed, but ſtill prevailed in Italy. Then it was that England and Holland with pleaſure beheld, towards the middle of the laſt century, the Imperial branch of Auſtria reduced to the neceſſity of yielding Luſatia to the elector of Saxony, and the prefecture of Alſace to France; at the ſame time that Lewis XIII. ſtripped the Spaniſh branch of the province of Rouſſillon.

Cromwell, the uſurper of England, did not act counter to this ſyſtem; and though he had

murdered the brother in law of Lewis XIII. and the uncle of Lewis XIV. ſtill he continued to be cloſely united to France. The wiſhes of all nations ſeemed to be generally in her favour againſt the Auſtrians, till the time when Lewis XIV. began to be formidable by his conqueſts, by the choice he made of the greateſt generals and ableſt miniſters, and, in fine, by the weakneſs of his enemies. In 1667 he made himſelf maſter of one half of Flanders, and the year following he had taken Franche Comptè from the houſe of Auſtria: then the Dutch, a people who had ſuddenly raiſed themſelves by their courage in war and by their induſtry in peace, ceaſed to be apprehenſive of the Auſtrians their ancient maſters, and turned their jealouſies againſt the French their ancient protectors. Their negotiations obliged Lewis XIV. to conclude the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, a ſucceſs of which they greatly boaſted.

This was the origin of that famous irruption which this monarch made into Holland in the year 1672. He eaſily made Charles II. king of England, chime in with his views, knowing he wanted money, and that he had ſome reaſon to complain of the ſeven provinces. Lewis choſe rather to puniſh Holland than to conquer Flanders, a country to which he had ſome claims, and of which he would perhaps have kept poſſeſſion: but not long after the Dutch and the Engliſh entered into an alliance, and from that time forwards they have obſtinately oppoſed the intereſts of France. The glory and power of Lewis XIV. increaſed; and this increaſed the number of his enemies.

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That very ſyſtem of equilibrium, which had been ſo long purſued againſt the Auſtrians, was now turned againſt the French. William, ſtadtholder of the United Provinces and king of England, was from the year 1689 the ſoul of a party which united Spain, Germany, England, Holland, Savoy, and even pope Innocent XI, againſt Lewis XIV. Yet Lewis ſtood his ground againſt ſo many enemies. For a long time he maintained an army of very near 400,000 men, and above one hundred ſhips of the line; though upon his acceſſion to the crown he had not above ſix ſhips of war. And notwithſtanding his navy met with ſuch a violent ſhock at the Hogue, and the India company, erected by the great Colbert, had been reduced to nothing, yet he concluded a peace at Ryſwick which was neither inglorious nor unprofitable. That very ſyſtem of general equilibrium, compoſed of ſo many private views, produced this peace, and gave birth to a kind of policy hitherto unknown to Europe.

The laſt prince of the Auſtrian branch upon the throne of Spain, was in a declining ſtate of health, and had no children. This induced the courts of London and of the Hague to conclude a treaty with Lewis XIV. whom they did not love, whereby they diſpoſed of the dominions of Spain in conjunction with that prince. They divided them among ſeveral princes, giving part of the ſpoil to Lewis XIV. leſt this prince ſhould graſp at the whole inheritance. Charles II. king of Spain, was ſo incenſed at the inſult offered to his weakneſs, in making a partition of his

eſtate during his life time, that he named the ſon of the elector of Bavaria heir to all his dominions. This young prince was the great grandſon of Philip III. The choice appeared juſt and prudent; the houſe of Auſtria might grumble, but could not help herſelf; the inevitable diſputes which would have attended a partition were prevented by this means, and the equilibrium of Europe was preſerved; but the prince of Bavaria died three months after he had been declared ſucceſſor to the crown of Spain.

Then another treaty of partition was propoſed, whereby, among other conventions, they gave the dutchy of Milan to the houſe of Lorrain, and the dutchy of Lorrain to the king of France; a project which has ſince been partly executed. Upon this the king of Spain, ſeeing himſelf ſo near his end, though in the flower of life, was diſpoſed to leave all his kingdoms to his wife's nephew, Charles the archduke, ſecond ſon of the emperor Leopold; but he durſt not think of leaving them to the eldeſt brother from the ſtrong notion he entertained of a balance of power, and from a perſuaſion that the apprehenſion of ſeeing Spain, the Indies, the Empire, Hungary, Bohemia, and Lombardy, all ſubject to one prince, would be a means of arming the reſt of Europe. He wanted the emperor Leopold to ſend his ſecond ſon Charles to Madrid at the head of ten thouſand men; but neither France, England, Holland, nor Italy, would at that time have ſuffered it: they were all for a treaty of partition. The emperor did not chuſe to ſend his ſon by himſelf into Spain, nor

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was he able to force a way for ten thouſand men into that kingdom. The ſame thing happened, in an affair of the greateſt importance betwixt two great princes, as every day happens to private people in trifling matters; they debated till high words aroſe, and then they quarrelled. The Spaniſh pride was offended at the German ſtiffneſs; the counteſs of Perlitz, who had a great aſcendant over the queen of Spain, inſtead of conciliating the minds of the Spaniards to the German intereſt, alienated them from it; and the court of Vienna offended them a great deal more by their haughty manner of proceeding.

The young archduke was accuſtomed to call the Spaniards by an abuſive name; but he learnt to his coſt with what circumſpection princes ought to weigh their words. The biſhop of Lerida, ambaſſador from Spain to the court of Vienna, being diſſatisfied with the Germans, generally took care to make matters worſe, by aggravating thoſe expreſſions to the court of Spain; while he himſelf ſaid much more injurious things againſt the Auſtrian council than the archduke had ever uttered againſt the Spaniards. *Leopold's miniſters*, ſaid he in one of his letters, *have their minds formed juſt like the horns of the bulls in my country, ſmall, hard, and crooked.* This letter being made public, the biſhop of Lerida was recalled; but at his return to Madrid he only increaſed the averſion which the Spaniards had already conceived againſt the Auſtrians.

A number of trifling incidents, with which the moſt important affairs are generally interwoven,

contributed to the great change which happened in Europe, and paved the way for that Revolution, by which the houſe of Auſtria was for ever deprived of Spain and the Indies. Cardinal Portocarero, and the reſt of the Spaniſh grandees who had moſt credit at court, deſirous of preventing the partition of the Spaniſh monarchy, all joined in perſuading Charles II. to prefer a grandſon of Lewis XIV. to a prince who was at a great diſtance from Spain, and at the ſame time unable to defend it. This was not annulling the ſolemn renunciations which the mother and the wife of Lewis XIV. had made of the crown of Spain; becauſe theſe had been made merely with an intent to hinder the eldeſt of their deſcendants from ever enjoying the ſovereignty of the two kingdoms: but in the preſent caſe the eldeſt was not pitched upon; while at the ſame time it was doing juſtice to the rights of blood, and preſerving the Spaniſh monarchy intire and undivided.

Charles being a ſcrupulous prince, conſulted the ableſt divines, who were of the ſame opinion as his council. In ſhort, infirm as he was, he wrote with his own hand to pope Innocent XII. and propoſed the caſe himſelf: the pope imagining that the weakening of the houſe of Auſtria would ſtrengthen the liberty of Italy, wrote in anſwer to the king, that the laws of Spain and the general good of Criſtendom, required he ſhould give the preference to the houſe of France. The pope's letter was dated the 16th of July 1700; he wiſely treated this caſe of conſcience as a ſtate affair, while the king of Spain, who with very good rea-

ſon was deſirous of having juſtice on his ſide, treated this weighty matter of ſtate as a caſe of conſcience.

Lewis XIV was informed of this ſtep, and this was the whole ſhare which the court of Verſailles had in this memorable event: there was not even ſo much as a French ambaſſador at that time at Madrid; for marſhal Harcourt had been recalled ſix months before from that court, where his preſence was become diſagreeable by the treaty of partition, which France ſeemed ready to maintain by force of arms. In vain did all Europe imagine that the will of Charles II. had been dictated at Verſailles. The dying prince only conſulted the intereſt of his kingdom, and the wiſhes of his ſubjects. So ſecret was this teſtament, which changed the face of Europe, that count Harrach, the Imperial ambaſſador, ſtill flattered himſelf that the ſucceſſion was ſettled on the archduke, and he waited a great while for the iſſue of the great council, which was immediately held after the king's deceaſe.

The duke d'Abrantes approached him with open arms. The ambaſſador no longer doubted but the archduke was declared king from that very inſtant, when the duke d'Abrantes expreſſed himſelf in theſe words, as he embraced him, *I come from taking my leave of the houſe of Auſtria.* Thus the houſe of France, after two hundred years ſpent in war, and in negotiations about a few frontier provinces of the Spaniſh dominions, acquired by the ſtroke of a pen the intire monarchy without treaty

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or intrigue, or even without having had any hopes of this ſucceſſion. We thought ourſelves obliged to publiſh the naked truth, in regard to a fact which has been hitherto darkened by ſuch a number of miniſters and hiſtorians, whom prejudices or appearances have ſeduced. All that has been handed about in ſo many volumes, in regard to Marſhal d'Harcourt's giving away ſuch ſums of money, and the bribing of the Spaniſh miniſters to come at this will, deſerves to be ranked among the number of political lies, and popular errors. The miniſter who had the department of foreign affairs at that time in France, has given an authentic teſtimonial of this truth, in a piece written with his own hand. The king of Spain, however, at the ſame time that he bequeathed the ſucceſſion of his dominions to the grandſon of a king who had been ſo long his enemy, had his thoughts fixed on the conſequences which might follow from the idea of a general equilibrium. The duke of Anjou, grandſon of Lewis XIV. was called to the ſucceſſion of the crown of Spain, becauſe he was not to expect that of France; and the ſame teſtament which in default of the princes deſcended from Lewis XIV. gave the crown to the archduke Charles, who was afterwards emperor, mentioned in expreſs terms that the empire and Spain ſhould never be re-united under the ſame ſovereign.

The Auſtrian branch which ſat on the Imperial throne, finding itſelf deprived of the Spaniſh ſucceſſion, and only ſubſtituted in default of iſſue of the duke of Anjou, excited almoſt every power

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in Europe againſt the houſe of Bourbon. This ſame Leopold, who was neither able nor willing to ſend ten thouſand men into Spain to ſecure the crown for his ſon the archduke, ſoon brought an hundred thouſand into the field. The duke of Savoy, father-in-law to the duke of Burgundy, and to the king of Spain, entered ſome time after into an alliance againſt his ſons-in-law.

England and Holland having declared in favour of the archduke, bore the greateſt part of the burthen of the whole war, till at length the equilibrium which had been the motive of ſuch furious diſſenſions, ſerved as a pretext for a peace. The caſe foreſeen by Charles II. king of Spain came to paſs: the archduke, on whom the Spaniſh monarchy was intailed, and for whom they were carrying on this bloody war, was become emperor in 1711, by the death of his eldeſt brother Joſeph. The tories in England, who oppoſed the whig miniſtry, embraced this opportunity to determine the queen not to waſte any longer the blood and treaſure of the Engliſh, only in order to make the new emperor Charles VI. far more powerful than ever Charles V. had been, and to act contrary to the very intention and real intereſt of England, as well as of the reſt of Europe, who had been apprehenſive of ſeeing the Imperial and Spaniſh crowns on the ſame head. But what contributed the moſt to the great work of peace, was an incident from which no one could ever have expected a conſequence of ſuch importance.

As the haughtineſs of a German lady had been one of the chief cauſes of the teſtamentary diſpoſition

tion of Charles II. ſo the indecent behaviour of an Engliſh lady to queen Anne gave peace to Europe. The queen being offended with the ducheſs of *Marlborough*, began to loſe all patience; an incident which the tories improved to their advantage. The queen changed her miniſters and maxims; and England, which had been the inveterate enemy of France, concluded a ſeparate peace: ſoon after this ſtep, the lucky victory, which marſhal Villars obtained at Denain, in the neighbourhood of Landrecy, determined the Dutch, and the emperor Charles VI. to conclude a general peace.

Lewis XIV. after ten years reverſe of fortune, after having been reduced in 1710 to the diſtreſſed condition of conſenting to abandon his grandſon the king of Spain, and having had the mortification of not being liſtened to, unleſs he joined the allies himſelf againſt his own blood, at length enjoyed the pleaſure of ſeeing his grandſon firmly ſettled on the throne of Spain.

But notwithſtanding this monarchy had been given to Philip only to prevent its being diſmembered, yet they were obliged to divide it. The emperor, by the treaty of Raſtadt and Baden, made in 1714, kept the Auſtrian Netherlands, together with the dukedom of Milan, and the kingdom of Naples, in ſpite of that ancient law which determines that this kingdom ſhall be always incompatible with the empire. Charles V. had ſubmitted to that law when he received the inveſtiture of the Kingdom of Naples of the pope, before he had been poſſeſſed of the Imperial crown; but this

mighty

mighty vaſſal found no great difficulty in obliging ſuch a weak ſovereign as the pope to releaſe him from his oath; and Charles VI. met with the ſame complaiſance from the court of Rome as Charles V.

Sicily, another member of the Spaniſh monarchy, was then given to the duke of Savoy, who had afterwards Sardinia in exchange. The iſle of Minorca and Gibraltar, which had been taken by the Engliſh, were ceded to that nation. The king of Pruſſia gained Upper Guelderland. The Dutch had a barrier compoſed of Namur, Tournay, Menin, Furnes, Warneton, Ipres, Dendermond, *&c.* At the ſame time that the emperor left the care of defending thoſe places to the Dutch, he conſtantly paid them two millions five hundred thouſand livres a year; a convention almoſt unparalleled in hiſtory, to give his money and his ſtrong towns to his allies, inſtead of having them garriſoned by his own troops.

The elector of Bavaria, father of him who was afterwards emperor by the name of Charles VII. and his brother the elector of Cologne, were reſtored to their territories, and to thoſe rights of which they had been ſtripped for having ſided with France, and for being unfortunate. The emperor Joſeph had put them under the ban of the empire, by his own ſingle authority, without the conſent of the three colleges.

Thus all the belligerant powers reaped conſiderable advantages from this peace, the chief of which, though not ſufficiently regarded, was the preſervation of the human ſpecies. Such a bloody war,

in which there were at leaſt ſix hundred thouſand combatants on one ſide and the other, in Italy, Spain, Germany, and Flanders, muſt have deſtroyed about a hundred thouſand men every year. And it is beyond all doubt, that the ſouth of Europe had in ten years loſt above a million of men in the flower of life.

Each nation repaired its loſſes during the twenty years which followed the peace of Utrecht; happy years, whoſe felicity met with very little interruption. England increaſed her trade by the ſurrender which France made to her of Newfoundland and Acadia, by the Aſſiento treaty, which put her in poſſeſſion of the Negro trade with Spaniſh America, and in fine by the permiſſion which ſhe extorted from Spain, of ſending every year a ſhip to Portobello, which became the ſtaple of an immenſe counterband commerce.

France had only three hundred merchant ſhips at the time of the treaty of Utrecht; but was miſtreſs of above eighteen hundred in 1740. Her commerce and her manufactures were in a flouriſhing condition. Out of the wreck of a deſtructive ſcheme, which in 1719 ruined one part of the nation, and enriched the other, a new Eaſt India company aroſe, which in 1725 was poſſeſſed of a ſtock of one hundred millions of livres lent to the ſtate, and of thirty nine millions in ſhips, ſtore-houſes, and valuable commodities. This company rebuilt and enlarged the city of Pondicherry in the Eaſt-Indies, which at preſent contains one hundred thouſand inhabitants, is regularly fortified, and defended by four hundred and

fifty

fifty pieces of cannon, they cleared Port l'Orient in Brittany, and of a village made it a trading town: they had ſixty ſhips from four hundred to eight hundred tons: in fine, during the ſpace of twenty eight years, their commerce had been a nurſery of ſeamen, and a conſtant ſource of treaſure and plenty; for while all the ſtock proprietors received a conſiderable intereſt from the farm of tobacco, the whole profits of the company were employed in making new ſettlements; they could be charged with nothing but ſuperfluous expences, which indeed are a mark of riches. The commerce of the French colonies alone produced a circulation of one hundred millions of livres, and moreover enriched the nation by the commodities which were tranſported from one hemiſphere to the other: in ſome of theſe colonies the number of inhabitants had been doubled ſince the year 1712.

Almoſt all the towns in France were improved in the elegance of their buildings; the kingdom was viſibly grown more populous, and during this long ſpace of time had met with no ſhock of foreign wars. The rupture between the duke of Orleans, regent of France, and the king of Spain in 1718, was neither long nor unfortunate; it was not between nation and nation, but between the two princes; the people hardly minded it at Paris, where their thoughts were all employed about the great game of ſtocks, which made, and which ruined, ſuch a number of men's fortunes.

The deſign of Spain was to recover thoſe provinces which had been wreſted from that monarchy; but it was not then a time to make the at-

tempt. In vain did the Spaniſh troops make a deſcent upon Sardinia, which then belonged to the emperor; and afterwards upon Sicily, poſſeſſed by the duke of Savoy in virtue of the treaty of Utrecht. The conſequence of theſe armaments was, that the emperor Charles VI. by the help of a Britiſh fleet, and even aided by the regent of France, took Sicily to himſelf: this iſland had been ceded by the treaty of Utrecht to the houſe of Savoy, whoſe princes after a reign of four years in Sicily, were made kings of Sardinia, which they ſtill poſſeſs.

Never were there ſo many negotiations as at that time; never more treaties, nor more jealouſies of each other: the intereſts of each nation ſeemed to change with that of individuals. The Engliſh government, cloſely connected with that miniſtry, which in the reign of Lewis XIV. had done every thing to ſettle Philip V. on the throne, was become his enemy: affairs went out of their natural channel to ſuch a degree, that the court of Madrid flung herſelf into the arms of her rival and enemy the court of Vienna; which after having ſo long contended with her for the Spaniſh monarchy, remained miſtreſs of Naples, and had lately driven her out of the iſland of Sicily.

In ſhort, this ſame emperor Charles VI. whoſe ſole intention had been always to prevent the new houſe of Spain from having any admittance into Italy, was at length ſo far prevailed upon, contrary to his own opinion, as to conſent that a ſon of Philip V. and of his ſecond wife, Elizabeth of

Parma,

Parma, ſhould be introduced with ſix thouſand Spaniards into the dutchy of Parma and Placentia, though the ſucceſſion was not as yet open. He gave the eventual inveſtiture of this country, as alſo of the great dukedom of Tuſcany, to Don Carlos, in 1725, by a ſolemn treaty, which had been upon the carpet long before that time, and he received two hundred thouſand Spaniſh piſtoles, the price of an engagement for which he was one day to pay ſo dear. In this convention every thing was odd and ſurpriſing: it was two rival families that united, without truſting to each other: it was the Engliſh who had uſed their utmoſt endeavours to dethrone Philip V, and had ſtripped him of Minorca and Gibraltar, which they ſtill continued to poſſeſs in ſpite of Spain, that were the mediators of the treaty: it was Riperda, a Dutchman, now grown all-powerful in Spain, who ſigned it, and who, after having ſigned it, was diſgraced.

Whilſt the Spaniſh branch of Bourbon thus acquired dominions by a tranſient conjunction with her enemy; there was a miſunderſtanding between her and the French branch, in ſpite of all the ties of blood and intereſt, by which they ſhould have been naturally united: thus it was that the two branches of Auſtria had been formerly divided. France at that time having joined with England, had no real allies; but in the year 1727 every thing began to return into its natural channel: the French miniſtry ſtrengthened the bonds of amity betwixt the two houſes of France;

and this miniſtry appearing honeſt and diſintereſted became inſenſibly the mediators of Europe.

England and Spain went to open war, for a point of commerce. The Spaniards laid ſiege to Gibraltar, and waſted their time and forces before that town, which the Engliſh had rendered impregnable. France offered her mediation *, and ſaved the honour of the Spaniards: at the ſame time a ſtop was put to the ſiege, and the jaring intereſts were reconciled by treaties.

† The emperor wanted to elude the promiſe he had made of giving Tuſcany, Parma and Placentia to don Carlos: but the French miniſtry engaged him to keep his word. The ſame miniſtry prevailed very artfully on the Engliſh, though the avowed enemies of the grandeur of the houſe of Bourbon, to tranſport the ſix thouſand Spaniards into Italy, which were to ſecure to don Carlos the poſſeſſion of his new dominions; and accordingly this prince was conveyed thither ſome time afterwards, together with his troops, by an Engliſh fleet: he was acknowledged ſovereign of Parma in 1731, and heir to the dukedom of Tuſcany. The grand duke, who was the laſt prince of the houſe of Medicis, accepted of the heir who had been nominated to his dominions without aſking his conſent.

The French miniſtry had ſome time before prevailed on the emperor, in compliance with the intereſt of all the trading nations, of which France was not at that time the leaſt conſiderable, to ſup-

* 1728. † 1729.

preſs

preſs the Eaſt India company which he had erected at Oſtend: thus this crown enjoyed the tranquil glory of being the mediator of all its neighbours, when the death of Auguſtus II. king of Poland, changed the face of Europe.

Cardinal Fleury, who was then near fourſcore, thought only of continuing that happy peace to France and to Europe. His inclination, his character, his age, his moderation in which he placed all his glory, all together rendered him extremely averſe to a war. Walpole, the Engliſh miniſter, was of the ſame diſpoſition: Spain had obtained all that ſhe had demanded: the north was in a profound tranquillity; when the death of Auguſtus II. king of Poland, involved Europe again in thoſe calamities from which it is ſeldom exempt for the ſpace of ten years without interruption.

King Staniſlaus, the father-in-law of Lewis XV. who had been already named king of Poland in 1704. was elected king in the moſt legitimate and the moſt ſolemn manner: but the emperor Charles VI. made them proceed to another election, which was ſupported by that prince's arms and by thoſe of Ruſſia. The ſon of the late king of Poland, elector of Saxony, and nephew of Charles VI. carried it againſt his competitor; and the houſe of Auſtria, which had not been able to keep poſſeſſion of Spain and the Weſt Indies, had power ſufficient to wreſt Poland from the father-in-law of Lewis XV. France then beheld ſuch another caſe renewed as that which had happened to Armand prince of Conty, who, though legally choſen, yet, being unprovided with money and

troops, and more recommended than ſupported, loſt the kingdom to which the people had called him. King Staniſlaus went to Dantzick to ſupport his election; but the majority by whom he had been choſen, ſoon gave way to the minority that oppoſed him. This country, where the common people are ſlaves, where the nobility ſell their votes, where the public treaſury has never any money ſufficient to maintain an army, where the laws are without vigour, and where liberty is productive only of diviſions; I ſay, this country vainly boaſted of a numerous nobility, who are able to bring one hundred thouſand horſe into the field. Ten thouſand Ruſſians diſperſed Staniſlaus's whole party. The Poles, who a century before uſed to look upon the Ruſſians with contempt, were at that time over-awed and directed by that nation. The empire of Ruſſia was become formidable ſince it had been new modelled by Peter the Great. Ten thouſand Ruſſian ſlaves, by being diſciplined to arms, diſperſed the whole body of the Poliſh nobility; and king Staniſlaus was obliged to ſhut himſelf up in the city of of Dantzick, where he was ſoon beſieged by a Ruſſian army of upwards of forty thouſand men. The emperor of Germany, in conjunction with Ruſſia, was ſure of ſucceſs. To hold the balance even, France muſt have tranſported a numerous army by ſea; but England would not have looked on ſuch an immenſe armament with indifference. Cardinal Fleury, who was willing to keep terms with England, neither choſe to have the diſgrace of intirely abandoning Staniſlaus, nor to riſk too great a number

of

of troops in his defence. He therefore fitted out a ſquadron with only fifteen hundred men commanded by a brigadier. This officer, not imagining it to be a ſerious commiſſion, when he came near to Dantzick, thought he ſhould ſacrifice the lives of his men to no manner of uſe, and therefore put back into Denmark. Count de Plelo, ambaſſador from France to the king of Denmark, with indignation beheld this retreat, which ſeemed ſo diſhonourable to the nation. The count though but a young man, was a polite ſcholar and a philoſopher, and had a ſoul actuated by heroic ſentiments, worthy of a better fortune: he reſolved to ſuccour Dantzick with this ſmall body of men againſt a whole army, or to periſh in the attempt. Before he embarked, he wrote a letter to count Maurepas, miniſter of ſtate, which he concluded with theſe words; *I am certain I ſhall never return, therefore I recommend my wife and children to your care.* He came before Dantzick, where he landed his men, and attacked the Ruſſian army: as he had foretold, he was ſlain, and the few ſoldiers under his command, that eſcaped the ſword, were made priſoners of war. His letter, which was extremely moving, came together with the news of his death, and drew tears from the whole council: he was lamented and admired by all Paris. I remember that when his widow appeared ſome time after in the public walks with her children, the crowd ſurrounded her with acclamations of affection, expreſſing the veneration they had for her huſband's memory.

Dantzick was taken: on which occaſion the French ambaſſador, who was then in that town, was made priſoner of war, notwithſtanding the privileges of his character. King Staniſlaus made his eſcape through the enemy in a diſguiſed habit, after he had ſeen a price ſet upon his head by the Ruſſian general, in a free kingdom, in his own country, and in the midſt of the nation by whom he had been lawfully elected.

The French miniſtry would have forfeited their reputation, a thing ſo neceſſary for the ſupport of grandeur, if they had not taken ſatisfaction for ſo groſs an affront; but this ſatisfaction would have ſignified nothing, unleſs it was attended with ſome benefit to the nation. The Muſcovites were too far off, to call them to an account, ſo that it was the buſineſs of the French miniſtry to wreak their vengeance againſt the emperor, which they effectually did in Germany and in Italy. France joined with Spain and Sardinia; and theſe three powers had their different intereſts, which all concurred to the ſame end of weakening the houſe of Auſtria. The dukes of Savoy had for a long time increaſed their dominions by degrees; ſometimes by ſelling their ſuccours to the emperors, and at other times by declaring againſt them. King Charles Emanuel was in hopes of getting the Milaneſe; and it was promiſed him by the miniſters of Verſailles and of Madrid. Philip V. king of Spain, or rather his queen Elizabeth of Parma, expected a more conſiderable ſettlement for her children than Parma and Placentia. The king of France had no other view than his own glory, the humiliation

tion of his enemies, and the ſucceſs of his allies; nobody foreſaw at that time that Lorrain was to be the fruit of the war: mankind are generally led by events, of which they have ſeldom the direction. Never was there a treaty more expeditiouſly concluded than that which united thoſe three monarchs. England and Holland, powers long accuſtomed to declare for Auſtria againſt France, forſook her upon this occaſion. This was the effect of the reputation which the French court had acquired, of equity and moderation. The opinion of her pacific and diſintereſted views, kept her natural enemies quiet, even while ſhe was at war. And indeed nothing could do a greater honour at that time to cardinal Fleury, than his attaining to ſuch a degree of credit, as to perſuade thoſe powers that France might wage war againſt the emperor, without endangering the liberty of Europe. All the other powers looked with unconcern at the rapid ſucceſs of the French arms; they were maſters of the field upon the Rhine; and the combined troops of France, Spain, and Savoy, over-ran Italy, where marſhal Villars finiſhed his career at the age of 84, after he had taken Milan. His ſucceſſor, marſhal Coigni, gained two battles, while the Spaniſh general, the duke of Montemart, obtained a victory at Bitonto, in the kingdom of Naples, from whence he took a new ſurname. Don Carlos, who had been acknowledged heir to Tuſcany, was ſoon made king of Naples and Sicily. Thus the Emperor loſt almoſt every foot he had in Italy, by buſying himſelf in giving a king to Poland;

and

and a ſon of the king of Spain acquired in two campaigns the two Sicilies, kingdoms ſo often taken and retaken; kingdoms which the houſe of Auſtria, for more than two centuries, had made conſtantly the object of her pretenſions.

This war in Italy is the only one that concluded with any ſolid ſucceſs to the French nation ſince Charlemagne. The reaſon is, they, in conjunction with the guardian of the Alps, who was become the moſt powerful prince in that country, were aſſiſted by the beſt troops belonging to the crown of Spain; and their armies were always plentifully ſupplied with proviſions.

The emperor was then glad to receive ſuch conditions of peace as the conqueror was pleaſed to grant. Cardinal Fleury had not only the addreſs to hinder England and Holland from taking part in this war, but likewiſe to conclude an advantageous peace without their mediation.

Europe was accuſtomed to ſee kingdoms given away and exchanged. By this peace don Carlos was acknowledged king of Naples and Sicily. To Francis duke of Lorrain, the emperor's intended ſon-in-law, they aſſigned the ſucceſſion of the houſe of Medicis, which before had been granted to don Carlos. The laſt grand duke of Tuſcany, being near his end, aſked, *Whether they would not give him a third heir, and whether the empire and France did not want to make a new child for him?* Not that the great dukedom of Tuſcany conſidered itſelf as an Imperial fief, but the emperor looked upon it as ſuch, as well as Parma and Placentia, which had been always

claimed

claimed by the holy ſee, and whoſe laſt duke had yielded homage to the pope; thus the rights of princes change with the times. By this peace the duchies of Parma and Placentia, which of birthright belonged to don Carlos, ſon of Philip V. and of a princeſs of Parma, were yielded in full property to the emperor Charles VI.

The king of Sardinia, who had fixed his eye on the Milaneſe, to which his family that had gradually raiſed itſelf, had ſome old pretenſions, obtained only a ſmall part of it, namely, the Novareſe, the Tortoneſe, and the fiefs of Langhes. His claim to the Milaneſe was derived from a daughter of Philip II. king of Spain, from whom he was deſcended: France had alſo her ancient pretenſions derived from Lewis XII. the natural heir of this dukedom: Philip V. had likewiſe his claims founded on the infeoffments renewed to four of his predeceſſors, kings of Spain; but all theſe pretenſions were ſuperſeded by the public utility. The emperor kept poſſeſſion of the Milaneſe, notwithſtanding the general law of the fiefs of the empire, which requires that the emperor, as lord paramount, ſhall always grant the inveſtiture of them; otherwiſe he might at long run ſwallow up all the feudal dependencies belonging to his crown.

By this treaty, king Staniſlaus renounced the kingdom to which he had been twice elected, without being able to keep it. They left him indeed the title of king; but he wanted a more ſolid indemnity; an indemnity of greater advantage to France than to himſelf. Cardinal Fleury ſeemed

ed satisfied at first with the duchy of Bar, which the duke of Lorrain had yielded to Staniſlaus, with the reverſion to the crown of France. But Lorrain itſelf was not to be ceded till the duke was put into full poſſeſſion of Tuſcany. This was making the ceſſion of Lorrain to depend upon a great many caſualties, and profiting very little by the moſt ſignal ſucceſs, and the moſt favourable conjunctures. The cardinal was encouraged to avail himſelf of his preſent advantages, which induced him to demand Lorrain on the ſame conditions as the duchy of Bar, and he obtained it. All it coſt him was ſome ready money, and a penſion of four millions five hundred thouſand livres to duke Francis, till Tuſcany devolved to him. Thus the reunion of Lorrain to the French monarchy, a reunion ſo often attempted in vain, was irevocably completed. By this means a Poliſh king was tranſplanted to Lorrain; the reigning family of the princes of Lorrain to Tuſcany; and the ſecond ſon of the king of Spain to Naples; ſo that the French miniſtry might have renewed Trajan's medal, *Regna aſſignata, Kingdoms diſpoſed of.*

The emperor Charles VI. fancied himſelf a great gainer by this treaty. Ever ſince the year 1713, he had endeavoured to engage the different ſtates of the empire, with the neighbouring princes, to guarantee the indiviſible poſſeſſion of his hereditary dominions to his eldeſt daughter Mary Tereſa, whom he afterwards married to the duke of Lorrain grand duke of Tuſcany, in 1736. His hopes were that a ſon by his eldeſt daughter would reſcue

cue his family from extinction, and preſerving the patrimony of the houſe of Auſtria, might continue the Imperial crown to his poſterity. With this expectation he had contributed to place the elector of Saxony, who was married to one of his nieces, on the throne of Poland by force of arms, and had obtained of him the guarantee of that famous act of ſucceſſion, called the *Caroline pragmatic ſanction*. He had alſo the guarantee of England, Holland, Ruſſia, Denmark, and of the ſtates of the empire: he even flattered himſelf that he ſhould obtain of the elector of Bavaria an equivalent to a formal acceptation, upon marrying his niece, the ſecond daughter of the emperor Joſeph, to this elector. In fine, he imagined he had ſecured every thing, when he obtained the guarantee of France; but prince Eugene, ſome time before he died, had told him, that he ought to have an army of two hundred thouſand men, without troubling his head about any guarantee.

In the mean time he preſſed the French miniſtry to ſecure by treaty the order eſtabliſhed in the Auſtrian ſucceſſion, and they agreed to do it. Upon which the elector of Bavaria, who thought he had a legitimate right to the ſucceſſion of the Auſtrian dominions, in preference to the daughters of the emperor Charles VI. immediately implored the protection of France, who was at that time in poſſeſſion of ſettling the conteſted rights of princes. The French miniſtry, ſo early as the year 1737, gave the emperor to underſtand, that by this guarantee they had no deſign to prejudice the claims of the houſe of Bavaria; and they put

the emperor in mind, that in the year 1732, when he prevailed on the ſtates of the empire to ſign this pragmatic ſettlement, he had expreſsly declared himſelf, that he did not intend to injure the rights of any third perſon. They deſired him to do juſtice to the houſe of Bavaria, and for that time went no farther than making remonſtrances. Thoſe ſparks, which were ſoon to cauſe ſo general a combuſtion, lay concealed under the embers.

At this time a profound tranquillity reigned in all parts of Chriſtendom, if we except the diſputes then ariſing betwixt England and Spain, about their American commerce. The French king was ſtill conſidered as the arbitrator of the differences of Europe.

The emperor had engaged in a war againſt the Turks, without conſulting the empire; this war proved unfortunate, but France ſaved him by her mediation. M. de Villeneuve, the French ambaſſador at the Port, went to Hungary in 1739, to conclude a peace with the grand vizir, of which the emperor ſtood greatly in need.

Much about the ſame time the French reſtored the tranquillity of Genoa, which city was menaced with a civil war; they likewiſe ſubdued and ſoftened the Corſicans, who had thrown off the yoke of Genoa. The country of Corſica, which a long time ſince has taken the title of a kingdom, had ſubmitted toward the end of the 13th century to the Genoeſe, whoſe country is leſs extenſive, and leſs warlike, but more opulent than Corſica. The Corſicans, who had been always a ſtiff-neck-

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ed people, were at that time in open rebellion, under pretence that their privileges had been trampled upon, and this rebellion had laſted ſince 1725. A German gentleman, of the county of Marck, named Theodore de Neuhauff, having travelled in ſearch of adventures, happened to be at Leghorn in 1736. There he opened a correſpendence with the malecontents, and offered them his ſervice. After they had agreed about matters, he embarked for Tunis, where he negotiated in their name: having obtained arms, ammunition, and money, with theſe ſupplies he landed in Corſica, and at length was proclaimed king of that iſland. The ceremony of his coronation was performed with laurel: he was acknowledged as ſovereign in the greateſt part of the iſland, where he continued to maintain the war. The ſenate of Genoa ſet a price upon Theodore's head; but finding they could neither aſſaſſinate him, nor reduce the Corſicans, they had recourſe to the emperor for his aſſiſtance. This appeared a dangerous ſtep, becauſe this prince, looking upon himſelf as lord paramount of all Italy, acted as ſupreme judge betwixt Genoa and the rebels. The ſenate at length applied to France, who ſent ſucceſſively into that iſland the count of Boiſſieux, and the marquiſs of Maillebois, afterwards marſhal of France. Theodore was expelled, the iſland was reduced, at leaſt for ſome time, and the public tranquillity reſtored.

While France thus extended her benevolence to Genoa and Corſica, ſhe was at the ſame time interpoſing her good offices between Spain and

England who were juſt entering into a ſea war againſt each other, far more deſtructive than their reſpective claims were worth. The French court had employed her mediation in 1735, betwixt Spain and Portugal, none of her neighbours had reaſon to complain of her; but on the contrary, all nations conſidered her as their mediatrix, and common mother.

CHAP. II.

Death of the emperor Charles VI. The ſucceſſion diſputed by four powers. The queen of Hungary proclaimed in all her father's dominions. Sileſia invaded by the king of Pruſſia.

THE emperor Charles VI. died in the month of October 1740, at the age of fifty five. It is of importance to princes, on whoſe life depends the repoſe of nations, not to be ignorant that this monarch killed himſelf by a ſurfeit *, at an entertainment which brought him to his grave, and the empire to the brink of ruin. If the death of the king of Poland, Auguſtus II. could cauſe ſuch commotions; that of Charles VI. the laſt prince of the houſe of Auſtria, muſt needs produce far other revolutions. In the firſt place Italy expected to become independent, a ſituation to which it had long aſpired. A great many ſtates, which were looked upon as fiefs of the empire, diſclaimed this ſubjection. Rome eſpe-

* He died of eating of muſhrooms.

cially,

cially, plundered by Charles V. ſeverely treated by his ſucceſſors, oppreſſed and fleeced by Joſeph, brother of Charles VI. flattered herſelf with the hopes of being delivered from the pretenſions of the German emperors, who ever ſince Otho the firſt, have imagined themſelves ſucceſſors to the rights of the ancient Cæſars. And indeed the German chancery looks upon the other kingdoms of Europe as provinces diſmembered from the empire; in their protocol they give the title of majeſty to no king whatever. The elector of Cologne ſtiles himſelf chancellor of Italy; and the elector of Triers takes the title of chancellor of Gaul. The German king, whom they chuſe at Frankfort, is declared king of the Romans, though he has not the leaſt juriſdiction in Rome; and he exacts a tribute of all the provinces of Italy, when he has forces ſufficient to oblige them to pay it. Such a number of dubious and conteſted rights had been the ſource of all the calamities, and of the weakening of Italy, for the ſpace of ſeven hundred years: it ſeemed therefore probable, that the confuſion into which Germany was in danger of being thrown by the death of Charles VI. would ſet the Italians at that full liberty which they had ſo long deſired. The new revolution which every body foreſaw would follow from the extinction of the houſe of Auſtria, might not only annihilate the rights and the name of the Roman empire; but it even appeared doubtful, whether Germany was not likely to be divided betwixt ſeveral princes, all ſo potent, as to find it difficult to acknowledge

a ſupreme head, or at leaſt to leave that head poſſeſſed of the ſame authority as his predeceſſors had enjoyed. It ſeemed therefore that the inheritance of the houſe of Auſtria could not poſſibly avoid being diſmembered: this inheritance conſiſted of Hungary and Bohemia, kingdoms which had been long elective, but were rendered hereditary by the Auſtrian princes; of Auſtrian Suabia, called Auſtria Anterior; of the upper and lower Auſtria, conquered in the 13th century; of Stiria, Carinthia, Carniola, Flanders, the Burgaw, the four foreſt towns, the Briſgaw, Friuli, Tyrol, the Milaneſe, the dukedoms of Mantua and Parma. With regard to Naples and Sicily theſe two kingdoms were poſſeſſed by don Carlos.

Mary Tereſa, the eldeſt daughter of Charles VI. founded her rights on the law of nature, which called her to her paternal inheritance, on the pragmatic ſanction by which this law was confirmed, and on the guarantee of ſo many princes. Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, demanded the ſucceſſion in virtue of the will of the emperor Ferdinand I. brother of Charles V. By this will Ferdinand had, in default of male-iſſue, inſtituted his eldeſt daughter, the archducheſs Anne, heireſs to his dominions: this princeſs was married to the duke of Bavaria; from her the elector Charles was deſcended: and there were no males left of the houſe of Auſtria.

Rights of a more recent nature were alledged by Auguſtus III. king of Poland, and elector of Saxony; theſe were the rights of his wife, eldeſt

daughter

daughter of the emperor Joſeph, the elder brother of Charles VI. If Mary Tereſa looked upon the pragmatic ſanction as a ſacred and inviolable law, the archducheſs, queen of Poland, had another pragmatic ſanction, ſettled previouſly in her favour by the father of Joſeph, and of Charles, who had made a regulation in 1703, that the daughters of Joſeph ſhould inherit preferably to the daughters of the younger brother Charles VI. in caſe the two brothers came to die without male iſſue. After Charles aſcended the Imperial throne, he aboliſhed this ſanction; therefore they might ſet his aſide after his death. His brother's daughters had been in his power, nor did he marry them till he made them renounce their rights; now a renunciation of that kind might be conſidered as involuntary, and conſequently null and void. On every ſide they pleaded rights of blood, teſtamentary diſpoſitions, family compacts, the laws of Germany, and the law of nations.

The king of Spain extended his pretenſions to the whole ſucceſſion of the houſe of Auſtria, by aſcending to the wife of Philip II. daughter of the emperor Maximilian II. a princeſs from whom Philip V. was deſcended by the female line. It was indeed an extraordinary revolution in the affairs of Europe, to ſee the houſe of Bourbon laying claim to the whole inheritance of the houſe of Auſtria. Lewis XV. might pretend to this ſucceſſion, by as juſt a title as any other prince, ſince he was deſcended in a direct line from the eldeſt male branch of the houſe of Auſtria, by the wife of Lewis XIII. and likewiſe by the wife of Lewis XIV. But it

was his buſineſs to act rather as an arbitrator and protector, than as a competitor; for by that means he had it in his power to determine the fate of this ſucceſſion, and of the Imperial throne, in concert with one half of Europe; whereas had he entered the liſts as a pretender, he would have had all Europe againſt him. This cauſe of ſo many crowned heads, was pleaded by public memoirs, in every part of the Chriſtian world; there was not a prince, nor hardly a private perſon, that did not intereſt himſelf in the diſpute, and nothing leſs was apprehended than a general war. But how greatly was human policy confounded, when the ſtorm aroſe from a quarter where nobody at all expected it!

In the beginning of this century the emperor Leopold, availing himſelf of the right which the German emperors had conſtantly attributed to themſelves of creating kings, erected ducal Pruſſia into a kingdom in 1701, in favour of Frederick-William, elector of Brandenburg. At that time Pruſſia was only a large deſert: but Frederick-William II. its ſecond king, purſued a plan of politics different from moſt of the princes of his time; for he ſpent above five millions of livres in clearing the lands that were encumbered with wood, in building towns, and in filling them with inhabitants: he ſent for families to Suabia and Franconia: he brought above ſixteen thouſand men from Saltzburg, and furniſhed them with all neceſſary implements of labour. In this manner, by forming a new ſtate, and by extraordinary œconomy, he created, as it were, a power of another kind: he

laid up conſtantly about ſixty thouſand German crowns, which in a reign of twenty eight years amounted to an immenſe treaſure. What he did not put into his coffers he ſpent in raiſing and maintaining an army of fourſcore thouſand choſen men, whom he taught a new kind of diſcipline, though he did not employ them in the field. But his ſon Frederick III. made a proper uſe of his father's preparatives. Every body knew that this young prince, having been in diſgrace in his father's reign, had employed his leiſure hours in the culture of his mind, and in improving thoſe extraordinary talents which he had received of nature. Thoſe talents, which indeed would have highly graced a private ſubject, the public ſaw and admired; but they did not perceive his political, nor his military abilities; ſo that the houſe of Auſtria entertained no more diſtruſt of him, than of the late king of Pruſſia. He came to the crown three months before the ſucceſſion of the houſe of Auſtria, and of the empire was open; he foreſaw the general confuſion; and upon the emperor's deceaſe he did not loſe a moment, but marched his army directly into Sileſia, one of the richeſt provinces which the daughter of Charles VI. poſſeſſed in Germany. His pretenſions were to four duchies, which his family had formerly acquired by purchaſes, and by acts of confraternity. His anceſtors had renounced all their pretenſions by repeated acts, becauſe they were not in a condition to make them good; but as the preſent king had power in his hands, he was reſolved to maintain his rights.

By this time France, Spain, Bavaria, and Saxony, were all buſying themſelves about the election of an emperor. The elector of Bavaria ſolicited France to procure him at leaſt a ſhare of the Auſtrian ſucceſſion. He laid claim indeed to the whole inheritance in his writings, but he durſt not demand the whole by his miniſters. Mary Tereſa, however, the great duke of Tuſcany's ſpouſe, took poſſeſſion immediately of all the dominions which had been left her by her father. The homages of the ſtates of Auſtria ſhe received at Vienna the 7th of November 1740; while Bohemia, and the provinces of Italy, ſwore allegiance by their deputies. But ſhe particularly gained the affections of the Hungarians, by condeſcending to take the ancient coronation oath of king Andrew II. made in 1222. *If I or any of my ſucceſſors ſhall, at any time whatever violate your privileges, be it permitted in virtue of this promiſe, both to you and your deſcendants, to defend yourſelves, without being liable to be treated as rebels.*

The greater the averſion which the anceſtors of the archduchefs queen had always ſhewn to the performance of ſuch engagements, the more this prudent ſtep endeared the queen to the Hungarians. This people, who had ſo often attempted to ſhake off the Auſtrian yoke, embraced that of Mary Tereſa; and after they had been two hundred years engaged in ſeditions, quarrels, and civil wars, they ſuddenly began to adore their ſovereign. The queen was not crowned till ſome months after, *viz.* the 24th of June 1741, yet her authority was not the leſs complete: ſhe

had

had already gained the hearts of the whole nation by that popular affability, which her anceſtors had ſeldom practiſed; and ſhe had baniſhed that ceremonious and faſtidious air, which is apt to render princes odious, without procuring them the leaſt reſpect. Her aunt, the archdutcheſs, governeſs of the Netherlands, never admitted any body to her table; Mary Tereſa dined with all the ladies and officers of diſtinction; the deputies of the ſtates accoſted her freely; ſhe never refuſed audience, nor ſuffered any body to depart diſcontented from her preſence.

Her firſt care was to ſecure to the grand duke her huſband a partnerſhip of her crowns, under the name of *co-regent*, without diminiſhing her ſovereignty, or violating the pragmatic ſanction. She mentioned it to the ſtates of Auſtria the very day ſhe received their oath, and ſoon after ſhe compaſſed her deſign. This princeſs flattered herſelf in theſe beginnings, that the dignities with which ſhe adorned the prince her huſband, would have paved the way for the Imperial throne; but ſhe had no money, and her troops were greatly diminiſhed, and diſperſed in different parts of her vaſt dominions.

The king of Pruſſia propoſed to her at firſt that ſhe ſhould yield the lower Sileſia to him, and he offered his whole credit, his aſſiſtance, his arms, with five millions of French livres, to guarantee the remainder of her dominions, and to ſettle the Imperial crown upon her huſband. Miniſters of the greateſt experience foreſaw, that if the queen of Hungary refuſed ſuch offers, Germany muſt be

thrown into a total confuſion; but the blood of ſo many emperors which flowed through the veins of this princeſs, would not ſuffer her even to think of diſmembering her patrimony: ſhe was impotent, and yet intrepid. Numbers of Auſtrians, who ſaw only the outward grandeur, but not the weakneſs of the court of Vienna, publicly declared that the elector of Brandenburg would be put under the ban of the empire in ſix months. Even the miniſters of this prince were frighted at the ſound of the Auſtrian name; but the king, who ſaw plainly that this power was at that time no more than a name, and that the ſtate in which Europe then was, would infallibly procure him allies, marched his army into Sileſia, in the month of December 1740. They wanted to put this device on his ſtandards, *Pro Deo & patria*. But he ſtruck out *pro Deo*, ſaying, that it was not right thus to mix the name of God with the quarrels of men, and that his diſpute was about a province, and not concerning religion. Before his regiment of guards he ordered the Roman eagle to be diſplayed in relief, on the top of a gilded ſtaff, a ſtep which laid him under the neceſſity of being invincible. He harangued his army, in order in every reſpect to reſemble the ancient Romans. Entering Sileſia, he made himſelf maſter of almoſt the whole province, of which they had refuſed him a part; but nothing as yet was decided. Marſhal Neuperg marched an army of about twenty four thouſand Auſtrians to the relief of the invaded province; and the king of Pruſſia found himſelf under a neceſſity of coming to an engagement at Molwitz,

near

near the river Neiſs. Then it was that the Pruſſian infantry ſhewed what they were able to perform: the king's cavalry, leſs ſtrong by half than the Auſtrian, was entirely broke; the firſt line of his infantry was taken in flank; the battle was thought to be loſt: all the king's baggage was pillaged; and this prince in danger of being taken, was carried away by the crowd that ſurrounded him: but his ſecond line of infantry ſet every thing again to rights by that unſhaken diſcipline to which they are ſo well accuſtomed; by their inceſſant fire, which is repeated at leaſt five times in a minute; and by fixing their bayonets to their muſkets in a moment. They gained the victory; and this event became the ſignal of a general conflagration.

CHAP. III.

The king of France joins with the kings of Pruſſia and Poland, to raiſe Charles Albert the elector of Bavaria to the Imperial throne.

ALL Europe imagined that the king of Pruſſia had acted in concert with France, when he firſt entered Sileſia; but they were miſtaken, as we generally are, when we reaſon only from probabilities. The king of Pruſſia ran a very great riſk, as he himſelf confeſſed; but he foreſaw that France would not miſs ſo fine an opportunity of ſupporting him: it was viſibly her intereeſt to act againſt Auſtria, in favour of her ancient ally the

the elector of Bavaria, whose father had been stripped of all his dominions for his alliance with France. After the battle of Hockstet, this very elector, Charles Albert, was made prisoner in his infancy by the Austrians, who had divested him even of his name of Bavaria; and France might find her advantage in revenging his cause. It seemed no difficult matter to obtain the Imperial crown, and a part of the Austrian succession, for this prince: by this step the new house of Austria-Lorrain would be deprived of that superiority which the extinct family had affected over the other powers of Europe; this was abolishing the old competition betwixt the Bourbonists and the Austrians, and doing more than Henry IV. and cardinal Richelieu had ever presumed to expect.

At the time that Frederick III. set out for Silesia, he was the first that foresaw this revolution, though the foundations of it were not yet laid. This is so true, that he had concerted no measure at all with cardinal Fleury; that the marquis de Beauveau, who was sent by the king of France to Berlin, in order to compliment the new monarch, could not tell, when he saw the first motions of the Prussian troops, whether they were destined against France, or Austria. King Frederick said to him, at his setting out upon this expedition; *I fancy I am going to play your game; if I throw aces, we will share between us.* This was the only overture of the negotiation which was yet at some distance. Cardinal Fleury was at that time in his eighty-fifth year, and unwilling to engage either his reputation, his old age, or his country in a

new

new war. He was deterred moreover, by the guarantee of the pragmatic ſanction, which the court of Verſailles had lately ſigned and ſworn to: but on the other hand he might have been encouraged to it by the preceding treaties with the houſe of Bavaria. It is very certain that Paris and Verſailles loudly demanded this war, which was afterwards ſo greatly condemned. I heard a perſon of very great diſtinction ſay theſe very words: *Cardinal Richelieu pulled down the houſe of Auſtria; and cardinal Fleury, if poſſible, will erect a new one.* Theſe words, which were repeated to the miniſter, vexed him prodigiouſly; nor did he give way till he could no longer reſiſt thoſe who were ſo eager for this expedition. Towards the end of December 1740, he charged the count of Belleiſle to draw up a plan of the negotiations which were to be conducted in the empire, and of the war that was projected, in order to procure for Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, the Imperial crown, and a part of the Auſtrian ſucceſſion. The count demanded eight days. and at the expiration of this term he produced his ſcheme, of which he cauſed three copies to be drawn; one for the cardinal, another for the depoſit of foreign affairs, and a third he kept himſelf.

If there could be any depending on the deſigns of man, never was there a project that bid fairer for ſucceſs: the count, who was afterwards marſhal duke de Belleiſle, demanded only that fifty thouſand French ſhould paſs the Rhine, before the month of June, to march towards the Danube. In this army he inſiſted that there ſhould be at leaſt

twenty

twenty thouſand horſe; and, according to his cuſtom, he entered into all the particulars of the march, and of the ſubſiſtence of the troops, in every page repeating, that it would be better to do nothing at all than to act by halves. They had near ſix months to prepare for a revolution, which had been already begun by the king of Pruſſia in the middle of winter. Saxony ſeemed diſpoſed to join with France and Pruſſia. The king of England, elector of Hanover, was to be forced to a neutrality by another army of forty thouſand French, which ſhould be ready to enter his German territories on the ſide of Weſtphalia, while the army under marſhal Belleiſle was to ſupport Saxony, Pruſſia, and Bavaria, by advancing towards the Danube. The elector of Cologne at that time eſpouſed the intereſts of his brother, the intended emperor. The old elector Palatine, who was to obtain for his heirs a renunciation from the king of Pruſſia, of that prince's rights to the duchies of Juliers and Bergues, through the protection of France, was more impatient than any body elſe to ſee the Bavarian elector on the Imperial throne; in ſhort every thing contributed to his election. The Imperial crown alone would have been an inconſiderable thing; they were to help the elector of Bavaria to take Auſtrian Suabia and Bohemia. They were likewiſe to join Spain in putting don Philip, the ſon of Philip V. and ſon-in-law of Lewis XV. in poſſeſſion of the Milaneſe and of Parma. In ſhort they made a diviſion of part of Europe in 1741, as they had done in 1736, and as England and Holland, in conjunction

junction with France, wanted to do before the death of Charles II. king of Spain.

Marſhal Belleiſle was ſent to Francfort, to the king of Pruſſia's camp, and to Dreſden, in order to concert the vaſt projects, which, from the concurrence of ſo many princes, one would have imagined could not poſſibly miſs. He agreed upon every point with the king of Pruſſia, who has given him this character, that he never ſaw a man more fit for the cabinet or for the field. From thence he went to Saxony, and prevailed in ſuch a manner on the mind of the king of Poland, that this prince made his troops march, even before there was a treaty ſigned. Thus the marſhal negotiated all over Germany; he was the very ſoul of the grand confederacy, which was to procure the empire and hereditary crowns, for a prince who was able to do nothing of himſelf. France at the ſame time gave money, allies, votes, and armies, to the elector of Bavaria, who had promiſed eight and twenty thouſand of his troops, though with French money he had hardly twelve thouſand. The king ſent the army he had promiſed him; and by letters patent *, made the ſame prince his lieutenant-general, whom he was going to make emperor of Germany.

The elector of Bavaria, ſtrengthened by thoſe ſuccours, eaſily penetrated into Auſtria, while Mary Tereſa was hardly able to make a ſtand againſt the king of Pruſſia †. He immediately made himſelf maſter of Paſſaw, an Imperial city ſubject

* Theſe letters were not ſealed till the 20th of Auguſt 1741.

† 31 July.

to

to its biſhop, and which ſeparates the upper Auſtria from Bavaria; from thence he continued his march to Lintz *, the capital of upper Auſtria; parties made excurſions to within three leagues of Vienna; the alarm was ſpread in this capital; they prepared in a hurry for a ſiege, deſtroying almoſt an entire ſuburb, and a palace, which was cloſe to the fortifications. The Danube was covered with boats full of coſtly moveables, which they were carrying to places of ſafety. The elector of Bavaria even ſent a ſummons to count Kevenhuller, governor of Vienna.

England and Holland were far at that time from holding the balance, which they always pretended to have in their hands. The ſtates general were ſilenced at the ſight of Marſhal Maillebois's army in Weſtphalia, and this ſame army had the ſame effect on the king of England, who was apprehenſive for his Hanoverian dominions, where he then reſided. He had raiſed an army of twenty five thouſand men to aſſiſt Mary Tereſa, but he was obliged to abandon her cauſe at the head of this very army which had been raiſed for her defence, and to ſign a treaty of neutrality: his domeſtics made uſe of a paſſport of the general of the French army for part of his equipage, which he ſent back to London, and whither he returned by the way of Weſtphalia and Holland. At that time there was not a ſingle power either within or without the empire, that ſupported this pragmatic ſanction, which ſo many princes had guarantied. Vienna, on the ſide threatened by the enemy, was very

* 15th Auguſt.

weak, and not likely to hold out long. Thoſe who were beſt acquainted with Germany, and with public affairs, concluded, that as ſoon as Vienna was taken, the gate would be ſhut againſt the Hungarians, and of courſe all the reſt of her dominions would be open to the victorious arms of the allies, all pretenſions would be regulated, and peace reſtored to the empire and to Europe.

The more the ruin of this princeſs ſeemed inevitable, the more courage ſhe exerted. In this diſtreſs ſhe left Vienna, and threw herſelf into the arms of the Hungarians, who had been ſo ſeverely treated by her father, and by her anceſtors. Having convened the four orders of the ſtate at Preſburg, ſhe appeared in the aſſembly, holding her eldeſt ſon in her arms, almoſt yet in his cradle, and addreſſing herſelf to them in Latin, a language in which ſhe expreſſed herſelf extremely well, ſhe ſpoke to them almoſt in theſe words. *Abandoned by my friends, perſecuted by my enemies, attacked by my neareſt relations, I have no reſource left but in your fidelity, your courage, and my conſtancy: I commit to your hands the daughter and the ſon of your kings, who expect of you their ſafety.* At this ſpeech the Palatines were greatly moved, and, drawing their ſabres, they all cried out: *Moriamur pro rege noſtro Maria Thereſia*; *Let us die for our king Mary Tereſa.* They always give the title of king to their queen, and never was there a princeſs more deſerving of this title. They wept when they took the oath to defend her: ſhe alone appeared unconcerned: but as ſoon as ſhe retired with her maids of honour, the tears ran plentifully down her cheeks.

cheeks. At that very time ſhe was with child, and it was not long ſince ſhe had wrote to her mother-in-law, the ducheſs of Lorrain, I know not whether I ſhall have a town left me to be brought to bed in.

Such was her diſtreſſed condition, and in this condition, ſhe moved the Hungarians to pity; ſhe excited England and Holland in her favour, ſo as to aſſiſt her with money; ſhe had agents in different parts of the empire; ſhe negotiated with the king of Sardinia, while her provinces furniſhed her with troops.

The whole Engliſh nation were animated in her defence. The Engliſh are not a people that wait for their princes opinion to direct them: even private people propoſed a free gift to the queen of Hungary. The ducheſs of Marlborough, the widow of that general who had fought for Charles VI. contrived a meeting of the principal ladies in London, who engaged to give the queen of Hungary an hundreed thouſand pounds, and the ducheſs laid forty thouſand of it down. The queen had the noble ſpirit not to accept of this money which was ſo generouſly offered her, chuſing only what ſhe expected of the nation aſſembled in parliament. It was thought that the victorious armies of France and Bavaria would have laid ſiege to Vienna: one ſhould always do what the enemy are apprehenſive of, and this was the king of Pruſſia's opinion: but whether the ſeaſon appeared too far advanced, or whether they wanted to eſtabliſh an equilibrium of power, between the houſes of Bavaria and Auſtria, by leaving Vienna and Hungary

gary to one, and the remainder of the German poſſeſſions to the other, they did not lay ſiege to Vienna, but turned towards Bohemia.

The French army, under the command of the elector of Bavaria, marched towards Prague, and in the way were joined by twenty thouſand Saxons, in the month of November 1741. Count Maurice of Saxony, natural brother of the king of Poland, ſcaled the town. This general, who had the ſame extraordinary ſtrength of body as his father, with the ſame gentle diſpoſition, and the ſame valour, was poſſeſſed of far ſuperior abilities in the art of war. From his reputation he had been choſen duke of Courland, by the unanimous voice of the nation; but Ruſſia having deprived him of the benefit of this election, he comforted himſelf for his loſs in the ſervice of France, and in the ſocial pleaſures of that nation, who were not as yet ſufficiently acquainted with his merit.

To form an idea of the character of count Saxe, whoſe name will be handed down to poſterity, it is ſufficient to mention, that being accuſed at that time, by ſome perſons about the king of Pruſſia, of having entered into thoſe little quarrels which commonly ſet the generals of allied armies at variance, he wrote to general Schmittaw the following words: *Thoſe who know me will allow, that I am much fitter to enter the liſts with an enemy, than to ſpin an intrigue.*

They were now under a neceſſity of taking Prague in a few days, or of abandoning the enterprize. They wanted proviſions, and the ſeaſon

was far advanced; and this great city, tho' but ill fortified, was ſtill able to withſtand their firſt attacks. General Ogilvi, a native of Ireland, who commanded in the town, had a garriſon of three thouſand men; the grand duke made what haſte he could to his aſſiſtance with an army of thirty thouſand, and was arrived within five leagues of Prague, the 25th of November: but that very night the French and Saxons ſtormed the town.

They made two attacks with a terrible fire of their artillery, which drew the whole garriſon that way. In the mean time count Saxe ſilently applied a ſingle ladder to a part of the town, very remote from the attack; the ladder was too ſhort, ſo that they were obliged to lengthen it with hand-barrows. Monſieur de Chevert, at that time lieutenant-colonel of the regiment of Beauce, was the firſt that mounted; marſhal Broglio's eldeſt ſon followed him; they got upon the rampart, and found, at ſome little diſtance, only a ſingle centinel; the reſt followed in crowds, and made themſelves maſters of the town. The garriſon laid down their arms, and Ogilvi ſurrendered himſelf priſoner of war with his three thouſand men. Count Saxe preſerved the city from pillage; and what was very extraordinary, the conquerors and the conquered were mixed pell mell together for three days, French, Saxons, Bavarians, and Bohemians, without knowing one another, and without one drop of blood being ſpilt.

The elector of Bavaria, who was juſt come to the camp, gave the king an account of this ſucceſs, as a general would write to a prince whoſe

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armies he commanded: he made his public entry into Prague the very day it was taken, and was crowned in the month of December. In the mean time the grand duke, finding it impoſſible for his army to ſubſiſt in the neighbourhood of Prague, retired to the ſouthern part of the province, and left to his brother prince Charles of Lorrain the command of the army.

During theſe tranſactions, the king of Pruſſia was making himſelf maſter of Moravia, a province ſituated betwixt Bohemia and Sileſia; ſo that Mary Tereſa ſeemed to be overpowered on all ſides. Her competitor, who had been already crowned archduke at Lintz, and had taken the crown of Bohemia at Prague, was ſet out for Franckfort to receive the Imperial crown under the name of Charles VII. All the electors had ſuſpended the vote of Bohemia, while the queen of Hungary was in poſſeſſion of that province, pretending that a woman had no right of ſuffrage. As the duke ef Bavaria was maſter of Prague at the time of his election to the Imperial dignity, he might have availed himſelf of the vote of Bohemia; but having no need of it, he ſuffered this vote to remain inactive.

Marſhal Belleiſle, who followed him from Prague to Franckfort, ſeemed rather one of the firſt electors than an embaſſador of France. He had canvaſſed all the electors; and directed every negotiation; he received the honours due to the repreſentative of a king, who gave away the Imperial crown: the elector of Mentz, who preſides at the election, gave him the right hand in his palace

while the embaſſador gave the right hand to the electors only, and took place of all the other princes. His full powers were delivered in the French tongue to the German chancery, which had hitherto required theſe inſtruments to be preſented in Latin, as the language of a government which aſſumes the title of the Roman empire. Charles Albert was elected the 4th of January in 1742, in the moſt peaceable, and the moſt ſolemn manner: ſo that he then ſeemed to be at the higheſt pitch of felicity and glory: but fortune ſoon changed, and his very elevation rendered him one of the moſt unhappy princes upon earth.

They now began to be ſenſible of the fault they had committed, in not having a ſufficient body of cavalry. Marſhal Belleiſle was ſick at Franckfort; nor could he at the ſame time manage the negotiations, and command a diſtant army. A miſunderſtanding inſenſibly aroſe among the allied powers; the Saxons complained of the Pruſſians; the latter of the French; and theſe of them all. The queen of Hungary maintained her cauſe by her conſtancy; by money received from England, Holland, and Venice; by loans in Flanders; and eſpecially by the deſperate ardour of her troops, which ſhe had at length aſſembled from all quarters. The French armies were waſting away by fatigues, by ſickneſs and deſertion, and found a difficulty in recruiting. It did not fare with them as with the armies of Guſtavus Adolphus, who having begun his expedition in Germany with leſs than ten thouſand men, ſoon found himſelf at the head of thirty thouſand, increaſing his troops in the ene-

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my's country, in proportion to the progreſs of his arms. The French army, which ſhould have been forty five thouſand ſtrong when it entered Bohemia, conſiſted only of thirty two thouſand effective men when it ſet out from France; in this number there ought to have been twenty thouſand horſe, whereas there never were eight thouſand. Thus every day the French diminiſhed, and the Auſtrians increaſed. Prince Charles of Lorrain, the grand duke's brother, was in the heart of Bohemia, with thirty five thouſand men. The country was intirely of his ſide, when he began a defenſive war with ſucceſs, by continually alarming the enemy, by cutting off their convoys, and by haraſſing them on every ſide with clouds of Huſſars, Croatians, Pandours, and Talpaſhes. The Pandours are Sclavonians inhabiting the banks of the Drave and the Save; they wear a long coat, with piſtols ſtuck in their belt, a ſabre, and a poniard. The Talpaſhes are an Hungarian infantry, armed with a fuſil, two piſtols, and a ſabre. The Croatians, whom the French call *Cravates*, are the militia of Croatia. The Huſſars are Hungarian cavalry, mounted on very ſmall horſes, that are light and indefatigable: they haraſs and deſtroy the troops diſperſed in different parts, and not properly ſupported by cavalry; which was every where the caſe of the troops of France and Bavaria. The elector thought a ſmall body of men ſufficient to preſerve a vaſt extent of country, which the queen of Hungary was not ſuppoſed to be in a condition of recovering. It is eaſy to condemn the operations of war when they prove unfortunate,

fortunate, but it is not ſo eaſy to foreſee thoſe misfortunes; however, marſhal Belleiſle had long forewarned the court of France in all his letters from Franckfort.

They have left troops behind them, ſaid he, *in the upper Auſtria, whoſe retreat will be infallibly cut off.* He wrote to monſieur de Breteuil, at that time ſecretary of ſtate in the department of war, the 17th of December 1741, in the following terms. *I cannot help dwelling on this important point, I can aſſure you that the misfortune I foreſee will happen: the firſt ſource of our diſaſters muſt certainly ariſe from the mixture of nations, and from the diſperſion of the troops.* The marſhal was taken ill at Franckfort, towards the end of November; his firſt care was then to write to court, that they ſhould by all means ſend a general to command the armies: in conſequence of which, as early as the eighth of December, they gave orders to marſhal Broglio, an old officer, bred under marſhal Villars, and celebrated for ſome ſignal exploits, to ſet out from Straſburg. At his arrival in Bohemia, he found the victors embarraſſed with their conqueſts, and the Auſtrians ſettled in all the different parts of the ſouthern part of Bohemia: while upper Auſtria was guarded only by fifteen thouſand Bavarians, and eight or nine thouſand French. Couut Kevenhuller, governor of Vienna, appeared ſuddenly in thoſe quarters with the garriſons of the towns left behind him, with the troops recalled from Italy, and with twenty thouſand Hungarians. At that time count Segur, a lieutenant-general, was in Lintz, an open town, where the elector of Bavaria had left

only about eight thouſand men. Kevenhuller advanced with an army of thirty thouſand, under the command of the grand duke: the only meaſure then to be taken was to retire; but the elector ordered count Segur to defend what was not tenable. The French barricadoed themſelves, and prepared to withſtand even the moſt violent attacks, in hopes of ſome diverſion being made by the troops of Bavaria; but the latter were beaten and diſperſed, and inſtead of relieving Lintz, they loſt Scharding.

The great duke came then in perſon before Lintz, and ſummoned the French to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war: upon their refuſal, he made his troops advance, with fire-brands in their hands, and burnt part of his own town, for the ſake of burying the French in its ruins. A deputation was undertaken by M. Duchatel, a lieutenant general, who is lately dead with all the reputation that valour, ſenſe and probity can give. The great duke told him, that he inſiſted on their ſurrendering themſelves priſoners of war. *Well*, ſaid M. Duchatel, *you may begin again to burn the town, and we ſhall begin again to fire.* The prince grew more moderate; and it was agreed at length that the French ſhould march out with all military honours, and not ſerve for a whole year.

After this firſt ſucceſs, the Hungarians rapidly advanced to Paſſaw, and retook it. From thence they overſpread Bavaria on the ſide of Auſtria; while the Auſtrians entered this electorate on the ſide of Tyrol, and ravaged it from one end to the other. Scarce had a common par-

tiſan, whoſe name was Mentzel, a fellow known by his brutality and his depredations, made his appearance before Munich with his huſſars, when the metropolis of Bavaria ſurrendered by capitulation. All theſe events followed cloſe to one another, while at Franckfort they were preparing for the coronation of the elector of Bavaria. To conclude the ſcene, the ſame day that he was choſen emperor, he heard that he had loſt Lintz, and ſoon after that he had neither capital nor territories left.

CHAP. IV.

The misfortunes of the emperor Charles VII. continued. The battle of Sahay. The French are deſerted by the Pruſſians, and afterwards by the Saxons. The army under marſhal Maillebois marches into Bohemia to no purpoſe. Marſhal Belleiſle ſaves the army ſhut up in Prague.

FORTUNE became as contrary to the Bavarian emperor in Bohemia, as in upper Auſtria and Bavaria. His fate was ſo much the harder, as things ſtill bore a favourable aſpect in Bohemia, and the good ſituation of his allies ſeemed to render them greatly ſuperior, ſo as to be able to oblige the enemy to quit his dominions. For on the one ſide count Saxe had taken Egra, within five and twenty leagues of Prague, and thus Bohemia was held by the two extremities; and on the other the king of Pruſſia had gained a

victory over prince Charles, near Czaſlaw, in the heart of Bohemia, whither he had penetrated with his army.

The Saxons were likewiſe in a condition of ſupporting him, and might aſſiſt in preſerving the conqueſts which the French armies had made in conjunction with their allies, in favour of the common cauſe. In the midſt of theſe ſeeming advantages, Marſhal Belleiſle, who was recovered of his illneſs, ſet out from Franckfort for the French army, commanded by marſhal Broglio, and found the Auſtrians at Sahay, near Frauemberg, upon the road to Prague. Theſe two generals did not agree well in their notions; but their zeal for the public ſervice united them: that night they lay on the ſame mattreſs, and the next day they fought one of the ſharpeſt and moſt glorious battles in the whole war; if glory is annexed to ſmall events well conducted, and intrepidly ſupported, as well as to more deciſive engagements. Six hundred carabiniers, and three hundred dragoons, with the marquis de Mirepoix and the duke de Chevreuſe at their head, attacked and defeated a body of 2500 cuiraſſiers, commanded by prince Lobkowitz, though the latter were well poſted, and defended themſelves with great bravery.

The duke de Chevreuſe received three wounds in this engagement; the duke de Broglio, and all the officers, ſet an example to the ſoldiers. M. de Maleſieux eſpecially, who was major of the carabiniers, drew them up in ſuch a manner as contributed greatly to the ſucceſs of the day; the count de Berenger did great ſervice with the brigade of

Navarre. This was not a great battle, but a trial of ſkill between the Auſtrian and French generals, wherein each combatant did wonders, and by which the French troops received more honour than real advantage. All this bravery was thrown away; and they might have perceived, notwithſtanding this ſeeming ſucceſs, that the pit was dug, and they were tumbling into it.

The king of Pruſſia, diſſatisfied with marſhal Broglio, had wrote him a very ſlighting letter, after his victory at Czaſlaw, wherein he added a poſtſcript with his own hand: *I am quit with my allies, for my troops have juſt now obtained a complete victory: it is your buſineſs to make what advantage you can of it immediately, otherwiſe you may be anſwerable to your allies.* Nobody comprehended the meaning of theſe words; *I am quit with my allies.* Marſhal Broglio wrote to court, that the king of Pruſſia might have made uſe of more obliging terms, and that this prince did not underſtand French; but he underſtood it very well, and it was an eaſy matter to comprehend his meaning.

This monarch remained in a ſtate of inaction after the battle of Czaſlaw, and they could not conceive what he meant by this inaction. There was no advantage taken of the little battle of Sahay; in ſhort the troops wanted ſubſiſtence. The loſs of a whole kingdom may ſometimes depend on the too great diſtance of a magazine, and on the ſcarcity of a ſingle article of proviſions. The recruits which were expected from France came too late; the troops under the command of marſhal Broglio, were ſo far diminiſhed, that at a review

of forty ſix battalions, which ſhould have made very near thirty thouſand men, they reckoned no more than twelve thouſand.

The remainder of the army was diſperſed in different poſts, while prince Charles of Lorrain and prince Lobkowitz were reuniting their forces. To complete the misfortunes of the French, there was as little harmony between their generals as between the allies. Had the Pruſſians acted in concert with the French and the Saxons, it appears beyond all doubt that as they were in poſſeſſion of Prague, of Egra, and of the northern part of Bohemia, and moreover victorious at Czaſlaw and at Sahay, they muſt have continued maſters of Bohemia. Marſhal Belleiſle, to whom the king of Pruſſia wrote every day with the greateſt degree of intimacy, and rather as a friend than as a crowned head, waited on this monarch the fifth of June in his camp, in order to ſettle every thing that might contribute to the ſucceſs of the common cauſe. The king told him in theſe very words: *I give you warning that prince Charles is advancing towards M. de Broglio; and that if you do not improve the advantage you had at Sahay, I ſhall forthwith conclude a ſeparate peace.*

And indeed it was very near a twelvemonth ſince this prince had been upon the point of coming to an agreement with the queen of Hungary; the negotiations had been renewed at Breſlaw, and at the Hague; in ſhort, the articles of the treaty had been drawn up, and they wanted nothing but ſigning. The ſure way to preſerve an ally, is to be able to do without him: but marſhal Broglio's army was far from being in this happy ſituation; for

for it was daily waſting by ſickneſs and deſertion.

The French were driven from all their poſts: they loſt all their ammunition and proviſions, part of which was plundered by their own ſoldiers, and the other part by the enemy. Prince Charles paſſed the Moldaw, and purſued a detachment under M. de Aubigné, which was retiring in diſorder. From thence he followed the French troops to Thein, to Piſeck, and from Piſeck to Pilſen, and to Beraun. Theſe retreats coſt the French as many men at leaſt as a battle, and beſides it diſpirited the troops. The huſſars perpetually haraſſed them in their precipitate marches; their equipages were plundered; and every Frenchman that ſtrayed from his corps, was ſure to be butchered. In the midſt of this diſorder of ſo many detached bodies flying from before the enemy, marſhal Broglio ſaved the army, by making a ſtand with about ten thouſand men againſt prince Charles's whole army, by putting a deep rivulet between the prince and him, by ſtealing a march, and at length by retiring towards Prague with his whole army. All this was admirably conducted, yet did not at all contribute to re-eſtabliſh his affairs. While he was exerting his endeavours to prevent his troops from being deſtroyed by the united armies of prince Charles and prince Lobkowitz, he was deſerted by the king of Pruſſia. The firſt diſaſters of the French in Bavaria and Bohemia were the cauſe of the treaty's being drawn, and the latter of its being ſigned the 11th of June 1742. The king of Pruſſia had taken up arms at a proper time, in order

der to make an eaſy conqueſt of Sileſia; and he was willing to lay them down at a proper time, in order to preſerve the largeſt and the richeſt part of that province, as far as the river Neiſs.

The queen of Hungary, after having had it in her power fifteen months before, to obtain troops and money of the king of Pruſſia, to prevent the war, and to put the Imperial crown on her huſband's head, if ſhe would only have reſigned a part of this province, thought herſelf very lucky in yielding much more to Pruſſia, than he had aſked at firſt, while ſhe obtained nothing of him in return. She likewiſe granted him the county of Glatz; yet tho' ſhe did not make an ally of this prince, ſhe was for ſome time delivered from a very formidable enemy.

In this treaty the emperor was deſerted, nor was the leaſt mention made of France. One of the conditions of the peace was, That Saxony ſhould be comprehended in it, provided their troops withdrew from the French within ſixteen days from the publication of the treaty.

The Saxon army withdrew before the time preſcribed; and the French remained the only protectors of the emperor, and the only troops expoſed to danger. Franckfort, where this prince had been crowned, ſerved for his aſylum. In vain did marſhal Belleiſle, though infirm, poſt away from the king of Pruſſia's camp to the court of Dreſden; in vain did marſhal Broglio aſſemble his ſcattered troops, which were now conſiderably recruited. There was very little ſubordination in his army; they found themſelves in a ſtrange country, without

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out allies, and without ſuccours; they had to fight againſt prince Charles, who was ſuperior in numbers, and beloved by the army and by the people. The advantage of ſpeaking the language of the country, which has the misfortune of being the ſeat of war, is alſo very great; you receive intelligence oftener and ſooner; the national troops are always favoured, and the foreigners are betrayed.

There was another inconveniency, which alone is ſufficient to deſtroy any army or ſtate. Marſhal Belleiſle, who arrived at Prague from Dreſden towards the end of the month of June, had the commiſſion of general in Bohemia; and marſhal Broglio, who had under him, in the neighbourhood of Prague, part of the battalions deſigned for Bavaria, wanted to preſerve his command, as being the oldeſt marſhal. Thus there were two generals, while the principal officers did not know who to obey. But cardinal Fleury continued the command to marſhal Belleiſle. While they remained in this dubious and dangerous ſituation, the king's ſervice did not ſuffer much, a thing ſtill more extraordinary than this diviſion of authority.

The French, thus deſerted by their allies, were ſtill in poſſeſſion of the place of the greateſt importance among all their conqueſts. But whilſt Bohemia was the theatre of theſe revolutions, the Hungarians, ſtill maſters of the capital of Bavaria, lorded it over the people with all the licentiouſneſs and cruelty of an unbridled ſoldiery. The city of Munich was obliged to pay the heavieſt contributions; the neighbouring villages were plundered,

and

and the people driven to deſpair. The king of France did not forſake the emperor, but while he kept Prague and Egra for him, he ſent the duke of Harcourt to relieve Bavaria, with an army of about fifteen thouſand men: this diverſion ſet Munich for a minute or two at liberty.

The Auſtrian general, count Kevenhuller, had aſſembled his troops, and withdrawn from Munich ſo early as the month of April. The inhabitants highly incenſed againſt the garriſon knocked numbers of them down, as they were marching out; then they ſhut the gates of Munich, which was almoſt an open town, and intrenched themſelves in this ſituation. But ſome days after they were obliged to ſurrender a ſecond time, and to deliver up their arms; this coſt the lives of a great many citizens, who were maſſacred by the Pandours; while others got off by ſurrendering part of their property. The Bavarian troops were always beaten; and it was as much as the duke of Harcourt could do, to maintain himſelf along the Danube againſt a ſuperior enemy. But all Europe had then its eyes upon Prague, where the two French marſhals had, after ſo many diſaſters, aſſembled about eight and twenty thouſand effective men, either in the town or under the walls. Prince Charles of Lorrain appeared before this city the 27th of June 1742, with an army of about forty five thouſand men; and general Feſtititz brought him eighteen thouſand Hungarians, who had been employed in Sileſia, and who, by the late peace with the king of Pruſſia, were let looſe againſt the French.

No inſtance as yet had been ſeen of an army of ſixty thouſand men beſieging another army of 28000; but the more numerous the garriſon, and the more populous the town, the more it was with reaſon preſumed, that they muſt want ammunition and proviſions. The queen of Hungary uſed all poſſible endeavours to recover this capital; ſhe gave every horſe in her ſtables to carry the artillery and ammunitions for the ſiege of Prague; the lords of her court followed her example, or paid for the waggoners horſes in money. The more this court had been exhauſted, the more their hopes began to revive.

The queen had made herſelf an Amazonian habit, in order to enter Prague on horſeback in triumph, at the head of her victorious army. So ſure were they in all parts of the queen of Hungary's dominions, of taking Prague in a very little time, that a general of the Auſtrian Netherlands, ſent a ſervant from Bruſſels to Prague, in order to get the firſt information of the taking of that city.

The French miniſter ordered marſhal Belleiſle to offer to evacuate the town, provided the queen would permit all the French troops in Bohemia to retire, and the Auſtrians on their ſide evacuated Bavaria. This propoſal ſeemed to be the preliminary of a general peace; but the Auſtrians were far from accepting of it; for in the ſecond conference marſhal Konigſeck declared to marſhal Belleiſle, that the queen his miſtreſs expected that the whole French army ſhould ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war. In Prague almoſt every thing

was wanting, except courage. Towards the end of July butchers meat coſt four livres a pound; horſes fleſh was ſerved up at the very beſt tables; and from the ſcarcity of forage, above fourteen thouſand horſes were obliged to be killed, or to be left to the enemy. The dukes de Biron, de Chevrueſe, de Luxemburg, de Bouffler, de Fleury; the count de Clermont-Tonnere, colonel-general of the horſe, and M. de Sechelles, intendant of the army, ſent their plate to the mint at Prague, in order to eaſe both the officers and ſoldiers.

To be thus diſtant from their native ſoil, in the midſt of a people whoſe language they did not underſtand, and by whom they were hated; to be expoſed to all ſorts of want, without being ſure of receiving any relief; in ſhort, to have no other ſubject of converſation than their paſt miſtakes, and preſent danger; this was the fate of the French in Prague. The Auſtrians battered their entrenchments with an hundred pieces of cannon, and thirty ſix mortars; but having no good ingineers, they proceeded very ſlowly in their works. The branches of their trenches were too long and too wide, and the French benefited by theſe miſtakes. They made ſallies every day, but that of the 22d of Auguſt was the moſt memorable, being a downright battle. The beſieged, to the number of 12,000, attacked the beſiegers, made themſelves maſters of a battery of cannon, took two hundred priſoners, filled up the works, took general Monti, killed fifteen hundred men, and wounded above two thouſand. In this action the duke de Biron, the prince des Deux-Ponts, brother of the reigning duke, and the prince

de Beauveau, were wounded. The marquis de Teſſé chief equerry to the queen, and his lieutenant-colonel, were ſlain near to each other. The marquis de Clermont, colonel of the regiment of Auvergne, and the marquis de Molac, colonel of Berry, alſo loſt their lives.

This memorable engagement coſt very dear, but ſurpriſed the Auſtrians. They never would venture to carry any of thoſe feeble works, which did not ſo much as merit the name of fortifications, but contented themſelves with firing from their batteries, though to no manner of purpoſe, and without ever making the leaſt breach; ſo that the town was rather inveſted than beſieged. And yet the loſs of all the French troops, both in Prague and Egra, ſeemed to be inevitable in the long run. There was only one reſource left: this was to ſend to their aſſiſtance that very army of about forty thouſand men, who, under the command of marſhal Maillebois, had compelled the king of England to ſign an apparent neutrality, and who kept Holland and Hanover in awe: but this army was two hundred leagues from Prague. This expedient was propoſed by the marquis de Fenelon, ambaſſador in Holland: it had its inconveniences; but it was alſo attended with its advantages. The French were then in the moſt perplexed ſituation: though their country is able to raiſe and to maintain 300,000 men for above ten years, without exhauſting itſelf, yet there were hardly more than 20,000 at that time in the heart of the kingdom. They had ſent at different intervals into Germany the better part of 212 ſquadrons,

and 117 battalions, which had been recruited from time to time: theſe troops, which were diſperſed at Prague, at Egra, in Bavaria, and in the upper Palatinate, were above half of them waſted away. Count Saxe, who commanded in Bavaria, wrote to court that he had not an hundred and fifty men to a battalion.

To relieve, and to diſengage theſe diſperſed, theſe weakened, and almoſt annihilated armies, the expedient was thought of ſending marſhal Maillebois's fine army, conſiſting of forty one battalions, and ſixty five ſquadrons, three thouſand Palatines, three thouſand Heſſians, with three independent companies of infantry, and two of dragoons. It was obvious, that if all theſe troops had acted together in one body, when aſſiſted by Pruſſia and Saxony, they would infallibly have carried their point. On the other hand, if the army under marſhal Maillebois was to move from the banks of the Rhine, and to penetrate into Bohemia, the kingdom would be left naked; and then even the Dutch alone might be formidable, ſo as to inſult the French frontiers with forty thouſand men. It is true, the marquis de Fenelon anſwered for the neutrality of the ſtates-general: but the king of England might enter Flanders with a powerful army. Upon this occaſion the oldeſt and the ableſt generals were conſulted. The marſhal de Puiſegur repreſented the difficulties and the dangers; marſhal Noailles acknowledged both, but inſiſted on the neceſſity of the undertaking. Marſhal d'Asfield was of the ſame opinion, and the king determined on this hazard-

ous but neceſſary ſtep, ſenſible that great exploits cannot be atchieved without running great riſks.

They were ſtill greatly puzzled to ſettle the route of this army, and the ſcene of its operations. The emperor Charles VII. wanted to employ it in his electoral dominions, where he ſhould command it in perſon: the reaſon he gave in writing was, that by delivering Bavaria from her enemies, Prague would be ſet free; and that the Auſtrians would infallibly raiſe the ſiege as ſoon as Maillebois's army reached the banks of the Danube. But the French miniſtry could not place their laſt reſource in the hands of an emperor who had ſo poorly defended his own territories againſt the Auſtrians. Cardinal Fleury wrote to him to diſſuade him from it; and the only reaſon he gives in his letter of the 19th of Auguſt is couched in theſe terms: *How would it become an emperor to appear at the head of our armies without an equipage ſuitable to his dignity?* This was a ſtrange reaſon indeed, which very little agreed with the ſix millions of livres that the king of France gave the emperor annually. Marſhal Maillebois wanted to lead his army into Bavaria, where he expected to find greater plenty of proviſions than on the barren defiles of Bohemia. Marſhal Puiſegur, perceiving it abſolutely neceſſary that this army ſhould march, was of opinion that it ſhould go at leaſt where marſhal Maillebois wanted to lead it; but the great object of entering Bohemia prevailed. The cardinal's intention was, that Maillebois's army ſhould give ſpirits to all the reſt of the king's troops.

In the mean time this miniſter eſſayed eve-

ry method of accommodation: he took care to ſound king George the ſecond, who had been obliged the preceding year to remain neuter in a cauſe which the Engliſh had at heart; he flattered himſelf with the hopes of ſome ſucceſs in the way of negotiation; but the time was paſſed. The celebrated ſir Robert Walpole, who had been intruſted with the direction of the public affairs in England under king George the firſt, and the preſent king, had been lately compelled by the nation to reſign his employments, becauſe he was of a pacific diſpoſition. His greateſt enemies agreed, that never miniſter knew better how to manage thoſe great trading companies, which are the baſis of the credit of England, nor better how to conduct affairs in parliament; but his greateſt friends at the ſame time allowed, that no miniſter before him had more uſe of the public money in parliamentary influence. He made no ſecret of this himſelf; for the author of theſe memoirs heard him ſay: *There is a drug with which we remove all bad humours, and it is ſold only in my ſhop.* Theſe words, which ſhew no elevation of ſtyle or of underſtanding, were expreſſive of his character. War was never his taſte. He always thought it would be the period of his power. *I can undertake,* he uſed to ſay, *to manage a parliament in time of peace, but I cannot anſwer to do it in time of war.* Cardinal Fleury had often profited by this timidity, and therefore preſerved a ſuperiority in his negotiations. This is what the party that oppoſed ſir Robert Walpole laid to his charge. They continually complained of his dilatorineſs in declaring war againſt Spain:

a ſtrange ſort of crime, in having deſired to continue peace to a trading nation.

This party was made up not only of the tories, who are always enemies of the whigs; but was moreover a coalition of whigs and tories equally diſſatisfied, becauſe they were determined to be ſo. This faction was called *the country party*, in oppoſition to that which went by the name of *the court party*; a diviſion not unlike to that which has been always in Poland, and what we have lately beheld in Sweden. For in all ſtates the miniſtry are the object of jealouſies and complaints; and though in abſolute monarchies theſe evaporate into empty murmurs, yet they become downright factions in mixt governments.

The country party complained loudly that king George II. had ſacrificed by his treaty of neutrality, the glory of Great Britain to the preſervation of Hanover: at the ſame time they laid the whole blame upon ſir Robert, who had no ſhare in this neceſſary and tranſient treaty, which was made only to be broke. Long before this they had attacked this miniſter in open parliament. Mr. Sandys, member then of the houſe of commons, ſaid theſe words publicly, the 23d of February 1741. *Get ready, for in three days time I ſhall impeach you. I accept the challenge*, replied the miniſter, *provided we fight honourably*; and at the ſame time he quoted this verſe out of Horace:

Nil conſcire ſibi; nullâ paleſcere culpâ?

Accordingly,

Accordingly on the day appointed, his accuſer made a motion in the houſe of commons, to addreſs his majeſty to remove ſir Robert Walpole from his council, and from his preſence: at the ſame time my lord Carteret made the ſame motion in the houſe of peers: and the queſtion was debated in both houſes till midnight.

This was a manifeſt injuſtice, to want to puniſh a man before he had been convicted of having deſerved it. However, that which ſometimes happens, happened then: the right ſide of the queſtion carried it in both houſes, and ſir Robert maintained his ground ſtill for ſome time. But at the expiration of the ſeven years, during which the repreſentatives of the people have a right to ſit in parliament, new members being choſen, and the country party growing ſtronger, the miniſter, who had ſtood his ground twenty years againſt ſuch a number of enemies, ſaw that he muſt be obliged to lay down *. The king made him a peer of Great Britain, by the title of earl of Orford, and three days after he reſigned all his employments. Upon this they commenced a parliamentary proſecution againſt him; they inſiſted on his giving an account of about thirty millions of livres, which he had expended in ten years ſecret ſervices, among which they reckoned twelve hundred thouſand livres given to political writers, or to thoſe who had employed their pens in the ſervice of the miniſter. The king, incenſed at this accuſation, eluded their purſuit, by proroguing the parliament;

* Jan. 19th, 1741.

that is, by ſuſpending its ſitting, in virtue of the royal prerogative.

The perſon who then gained the upper hand was this very lord Carteret, who had made the motion againſt ſir Robert in the houſe of peers. The king employed this nobleman in order to convince the nation that he was as much inclined to war as they; ſo that the better to govern them he favoured their paſſions.

Lord Carteret, who had been formerly ſecretary of ſtate, and afterwards lord lieutenant of Ireland, was one of the moſt learned men in England; he ſpoke ſeveral living languages, eſpecially French and Spaniſh, extremely well; was bold, artful, active, indefatigable, prodigal of the public money upon occaſions, and as inclined to war through pleaſure and taſte, as Walpole had been inclined to peace. He did not get into ſir Robert's place, which is that of high treaſurer under another title; but reſumed his ancient poſt of ſecretary of ſtate for the northern provinces, and immediately he came into higher credit than had ever fallen to ſir Robert's ſhare.

The cardinal made ſome overtures to this miniſter concerning an accommodation, and even went ſo far as to propoſe the mediation of Great Britain: but all the anſwer my lord Carteret made him, was to engage the parliament to grant money to the king for the raiſing of troops; for taking the Hanoverian forces into pay; for granting ſubſidies to Denmark and to Heſſe Caſſel, who were always ready to ſell men to both parties; for augmenting the ſubſidies of the queen of Hungary;

for

for entering into an alliance with the king of Sardinia, and maintaining his army; for conducting a conſpiracy at Naples; and for ſending fleets to the Mediterranean and to America. He formed alſo a ſcheme of procuring the biſhoprics of Oſnabrug and Hilderſheim to be yielded to the elector of Hanover in full property; and in ſhort of making his maſter the umpire of both hemiſpheres.

At the ſame time that cardinal Fleury addreſſed himſelf to ſo imperious a court, he applied alſo to the very general that was actually beſieging Prague. He wrote to field marſhal Konigſeck, a letter dated the 11th of July, which was delivered him by marſhal Belleiſle, wherein he excuſed himſelf in regard to the war that had been undertaken, alledging that he had been carried away by the torrent contrary to his own inclination. *It is known*, ſaid he, *to a great many, how ſtrongly I oppoſed the reſolution we have taken, and that I was in ſome meaſure forced to conſent to it. Your excellency is too well acquainted with what has paſſed, not to gueſs at the perſon who ſet every engine at work, to determine the king to enter into a confederacy ſo contrary to my inclination and to my principles.* All the anſwer the queen of Hungary ordered to be made, was to print the cardinal's letter. It is eaſy to ſee what bad effects this letter muſt have produced: in the firſt place it threw the whole blame of the war on the very general who was employed to negotiate with count Konigſeck: and to render his perſon odious, was not the way to facilitate the ſucceſs of his negotiation. In the ſecond place it was in ſome meaſure acknowledging

ledging the weakneſs of the miniſtry; and it implied a very ſlender knowledge of mankind not to foreſee that this weakneſs would be made a handle of, that the allies of France would grow indifferent, and her enemies more intractable.

The cardinal ſeeing his letter printed, wrote a ſecond, wherein he complained to the Auſtrian general of the publication of his letter, and told him, *that he ſhould not be hereafter ſo forward to write to him.* This ſecond letter did him more harm than the firſt. He denied them both in ſome public papers; and this denial, by which no body indeed was deceived, crowned all thoſe imprudent ſteps, which leſs ſevere judges were apt to excuſe in a man, who was eighty ſeven years of age, and tired with diſappointments. At length the emperor made propoſals of peace to the court of London, and eſpecially thoſe very ſeculariſations of Biſhoprics in favour of Hanover. The Engliſh miniſter did not think he wanted the emperor's aſſiſtance to obtain theſe biſhoprics, and inſulted that prince's offers by rendering them public; the conſequence was, that the emperor diſowned his propoſals of peace, as cardinal Fleury had diſowned the war.

The diſpute now grew warmer than ever; France on the one hand, and England on the other, who were really principals under the name of auxiliaries, endeavoured to hold the European balance with ſword in hand. Towards the ſpring of 1742, the court of England ſent into Flanders ſixteen thouſand Engliſh, ſixteen thouſand Hanoverians, and ſix thouſand Heſſians, who in conjunction

with

with fifteen thouſand Auſtrians compoſed a formidable army. They were commanded by the earl of Stairs, an officer formed under the duke of Marlborough, and afterwards ambaſſador in France, in 1715.

Before England ſtruck a blow, ſhe wanted to drag Holland into this quarrel; but the ſtates, adhering ſtrictly to the treaties by which they were only bound to ſupply the queen of Hungary with money, would not as yet furniſh any quota of troops. Holland was then divided into two parties, one deſirous of preſerving peace, and the other impatient for war; a third, at that time not ſo well known, but which was gaining ground every day, wiſhed for a change of government, and a ſtadtholder. But this party durſt not as yet declare themſelves openly before the other two; the love of liberty ſtill prevailed over gratitude to the blood of the Naſſaus, and over the intrigues of the prince of Orange. Theſe principles, this diviſion of minds, and this dilatorineſs ſo common to republics, when they are not threatned by ſome preſſing danger, prevented the Dutch from joining their forces to thoſe of the queen of Hungary and of the king of Great Britain.

The parties which at that time divided the republic, ſeemed to be founded rather on difference of opinion than on violence of faction. That ſpirit of ſedition, which in almoſt a ſimilar caſe, had been the cauſe of De Witt's being maſſacred by the people, ſeemed to be extinct; the grandſon of the penſionary De Witt, who like him oppoſed the war, walked quietly on foot to the council. They never

never had one tumultuous deliberation: but on the other hand they had no determinate project; and when the ſtates had taken a reſolution to augment their troops with twenty thouſand men at all events, not one of the regency could tell, whether they were determined for a war.

Lord Carteret went over to the Hague, in order to hurry them into this meaſure. Lord Stairs, who commanded the Engliſh army at Bruſſels, repaired likewiſe to the ſame place with the ſame view. The duke of Aremberg, as eager as any, backed them with his vague ſolicitations. My lord Stairs had an army that was able to penetrate into France without their aſſiſtance: for reckoning the Auſtrians, they were above eighty thouſand men; he wanted to take Dunkirk, whoſe fortifications were weak on the land ſide, from the nature of the ſoil which is all ſand. It is very certain that in France they were under apprehenſions for Dunkirk; the Engliſh who were continually proclaiming at the Hague, that the French had reſtored the fortifications of that harbour, uſed every endeavour to excite the Dutch to join with them in demanding ſatisfaction for this pretended infraction of the treaty of Utrecht. Marſhal Puiſegur adviſed Cardinal Fleury to propoſe ſequeſtering Dunkirk into the hands of the ſtates general till the concluſion of a peace. Such a propoſal, which was frank and artful at the ſame time, ought to have engaged the Dutch to behave as mediators and not as enemies. The propoſal was made them by the marquis of Fenelon; but though the Engliſh party had

not

not as yet authority ſufficient to force Holland into a war, yet they had ſuch influence as to hinder their accepting an honour, which would neceſſarily have rendered them neuter. In the mean time the allied army at Bruſſels might have penetrated into France; but the king of England wanted to temporize, and to wait till Holland had fully determined; which was one of the greateſt miſtakes committed during this whole war. I was at that time myſelf witneſs of the amazement and concern of my lord Stairs, who ſaid that the king his maſter had loſt an opportunity, which he would never meet with again. Nothing was then done either in Flanders or upon the Rhine; but the eyes of all Europe were fixed upon Bohemia. The two marſhals, Broglio and Belleiſle, were ſtill maſters of Prague, and ſtill beſieged. The army commanded by marſhal Maillebois was marching to their aſſiſtance through Weſtphalia, Franconia, and the frontiers of the upper Palatinate. Prince Charles upon the news of the march of this army, turned the ſiege of Prague into a blockade, and immediately flew to the defence of Bohemia.

It was at this very time * that a partizan whoſe name was Trenk, at the head of a crew of Pandours, Talpaſhes, and Croatians, took the town of Chamb on the Frontiers of the upper Palatinate, which ſtill held out for the emperor. He put all the inhabitants to the ſword, and ſet fire to the town after having firſt given it up to be plundered by the ſoldiers, and taken, as it is ſaid, to his own ſhare, the ſum of 300,000 German

* 14th and 15th December, 1742.

florins, which had been depoſited in this place. Theſe ſame Banditti having met a French convoy of ſick ſoldiers, maſſacred the ſick and their conductors. With ſuch ſavage ferocity did theſe irregular troops of Hungary carry on the war in every quarter.

In France moſt people were afraid that Prague and Egra muſt ſoon undergo the ſame fate; yet they ſtill flattered themſelves with hopes from Maillebois's army; while the raiſing of the ſiege of Prague revived the ſpirits of the court of Frankfort. The emperor enjoyed a tranſitory ſatisfaction, when the prince of *Deux-Pont*, brother of the reigning duke, brought him the colours taken from the Auſtrians in thoſe ſallies, which had been ſo many real battles, and wherein this prince had greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf. At length the army under marſhal Maillebois arrived towards the beginning of September on the frontiers of Bohemia. Hitherto every meaſure had been juſtly concerted: count Saxe was to join this army with the body under his command in Bavaria, which indeed conſiſted of no more than twenty ſeven thin battalions and thirty ſquadrons, but was a great addition to the new army. Count Saxe who had already the character of improving every opportunity, had juſt ſtole away with the corps under his command in Bavaria, from Kevenhuller's army which had cooped him up; and by a very dextrous march, he advanced towards the frontiers of Bohemia on one ſide, while marſhal Broglio approached on the other.

The duke of Harcourt with a detachment of count Saxe's troops had already taken the little

town

town of Plan, at the weſtern extremity of Bohemia, where he made four hundred priſoners of war. Count Saxe having afterwards evacuated Plan, and taken another poſt called Elnbogen, joined his troops to the grand army, who were ſoon within ſight of the Auſtrians. They now had it in their power to come to an engagement with the enemy; but it was a very hazardous affair; and if they ſhould happen to be defeated, they were neither ſure of a retreat nor of ſubſiſtence. The miniſter had wrote twice to marſhal Maillebois: *take care not to expoſe the king's armies to any diſgrace; and do not engage in an action the ſucceſs of which may be dubious.*

But there could be no action whoſe ſucceſs was not dubious; and the difficulty encreaſed every day in regard to ſubſiſtence, becauſe the enemy had plundered a magazine. The French wanted to open a road to Prague, by Caden, on the river Eger, leaving Egra and Elnbogen behind; when once they had taken poſt at Caden, the communication with Prague ſeemed eaſy, and they might receive proviſions from Saxony. Moreover, marſhal Broglio had poſted the marquis Armentieres at Leutmeritz with ſome troops. Leutmeritz is a ſmall town of Bohemia, where the Eger falls into the Elbe, about half way between Caden and Prague. The whole depended on the poſt of Caden, ſo that the people of Paris exhauſted their conjectures and criticiſms on this important operation. Never was the conduct of generals cenſured with ſo much ſeverity and precipitation; nay, it has been even ſince publicly queſtioned whether the French troops had ever been at Caden or not. I ſhall

I ſhall give here the real fact as it has been atteſted by the general himſelf. This detail will not perhaps be of any importance to poſterity; but it is intereſting at preſent. The twenty ſecond of October, count Saxe detached ſome troops to Caden in order to break down the bridge over the Eger, and to prevent the enemy's paſſage. In conſequence of this order an independent company enters Caden, and breaks down the bridge; but no ſooner is this done than the Auſtrians arrive, reſtore the bridge, and make themſelves maſters of Caden. Then all communication between Broglio's army and that of marſhal Maillebois was cut off: the latter received no account from Leutmeritz: nor could he proceed to Caden but by a defile which appeared impracticable. The kingdom of Bohemia is ſurrounded with craggy mountains, through which there are only narrow paſſes, where a hundred men may ſtop a whole army. The forces under marſhal Maillebois had no more bread than would laſt them till the 24th of October; ſo that the general was obliged to reduce the ſoldiers to half allowance, by giving them only a quarter of a pound of meat a-piece. They tried the defile of Caden; the artillery could not paſs; the waggoners all deſerted; their places were ſupplied by ſoldiers, yet no progreſs was made; murmurings, want of diſcipline, miſunderſtandings, ſcarcity, every thing in ſhort obſtructed their paſſage. A council of war was called the 17th of October, where all the general officers were of opinion for retiring. Count d'Eſtrées ſent his opinion in writing: *I ſee*, ſaid he, *no other way than to aſſem-*

ble

ble all our forces and to fight, or to go no farther. All the reſt propoſed what had been firſt mentioned before their march into Bohemia, which was, to turn towards the Danube, in order to ſave Bavaria and frighten Auſtria. Thus the army could hardly ſet foot in Bohemia, but fatigued and diminiſhed by a long and painful march, returned towards Bavaria. It was however a great advantage to that electorate to have theſe new troops, which in conjunction with thoſe of count Saxe, compoſed an army of about 50 thouſand men. The court ſent marſhal Broglio to command them.

This general having paſſed through Saxony with five hundred horſe, reached Nurenburg the 12th of November, and the 22d he took upon him the command of the army at Dingelfing in Bavaria. Marſhal Belleiſle continued in Prague, where he cut out work for the Auſtrians: and Maillebois's army of courſe acquired a ſuperiority in Bavaria. Munich was diſengaged a ſecond time; and the emperor returned to his capital. This prince had ſtill a body of about ten or twelve thouſand men; the French were maſters of the courſe of the Danube, the length of more than thirty leagues, from Ulm as far as Paſſau; while in Bohemia they ſtill kept poſſeſſion of Egra and Prague, and were maſters of the little circle of Leutmeritz, between Prague and Saxony. Thus there was ſtill a poſſibility of reſtoring the emperor's affairs; but Leutmeritz was taken ſoon after, and marſhal Belleiſle found himſelf ſhut up in Prague, with the remainder of an entire army now reduced to about ſeventeen thouſand men, without ſubſiſtence, without money,

and with any proſpect of ſuccours. He had nothing to hope but from himſelf, and from the good diſpoſition of a great many officers, who did not fall ſhort of his expectation. *I cannot*, ſaid he, in a letter dated the 28th of October, *ſufficiently commend on this occaſion the zeal of the duke de Chevreuſe, of the duke de Fleury, and of the marquis de Surgeres, who have ſold all they had left to remount the dragoons.* The marſhal ſeconded by his brother, opened a paſſage through the enemy, beat their different parties, kept them at the diſtance of above ſix leagues all round him, took care to have proviſions brought into Prague, and eſtabliſhed a ſtrict police in the town, as well as a ſevere diſcipline among the troops, which was not the eaſieſt part of his taſk.

When we ſee by the memoirs of the ſiege to what extremity they were reduced, what diviſions were among the troops, how loudly they complained, and how greatly they were provoked by want, and diſcouraged by a ſeries of miſery, we are ſurprized that the marſhal could ever manage ſo well. M. de Sechelles wanted money, and yet he never let the hoſpitals want. The moſt diligent aſſiſtance was neceſſary upon this occaſion, for about twenty ſoldiers died every day, one upon the other, ſince the month of June. Theſe with ſo many other loſſes continually preſented themſelves to the minds of the ſoldiers, who were terrified not only by their preſent miſery, but likewiſe by their future evils, which are generally heightened by the imagination.

In this cruel ſituation were they in the month of

of November, when the minister ordered marshal Belleisle to try to evacuate Prague in spite of the army that blockaded it. The general wrote that he had concerted measures for whatever orders he might receive; that if the cardinal wanted he should hold out four months longer, he would undertake to do it: and if he was commanded to evacuate Prague with all his troops, he would conduct them in safety to Egra, in spite of the enemy's army, and of the rigour of the season. The court chose the last, and it was accordingly executed: during the blockade this general had remounted his cavalry, his dragoons were formed of the horses belonging to the artillery; he had covered waggons to carry provisions; in short he wanted no manner of conveniency.

And yet the expedition was extremely hazardous: Prague was surrounded by Prince Lobkowitz's army, who were distributed into different quarters: the inhabitants of the town were so many spies: the cold was intense to that degree, as to be almost intolerable: about two thousand soldiers were sick, and the marshal himself had been ill a long time, so that he was not able to ride on horseback. Nevertheless, in the midst of all these difficulties, he fixed on his retreat in the night of the 17th of December 1742. In order to compass it with safety, it was necessary he should deceive prince Lobkowitz, the inhabitants of Prague, and his own troops: for this purpose he frequently sent out detachments to gather in corn in the neighbourhood; and these detachments had always cannon and covered waggons with them, to the end,

that when he evacuated the town in this manner, it ſhould occaſion leſs ſurpriſe; and two days before his retreat he laid contributions payable in four months. The day of his departure he kept the gates ſhut: and having given out that he would go upon an expedition towards a particular ſide of the country, he went another way, and ſtole a march of twenty four hours of prince Lobkowitz: thus proceeding in order of battle, and ſometimes followed by thirty pieces of cannon, according as the enemy might preſent themſelves, he forced their quarters, repulſed their cuiraſſiers, and penetrated into the country by an unfrequented road with eleven thouſand foot, and two thouſand five hundred horſe. The retreat was continued ten days in the midſt of ice and ſnow. The enemy's cavalry incommoded their march, hovering continually about them in front, in the rear, or in flank, but they were always repulſed: if they could have fallen upon the proviſions, Belleiſle's whole army would have been deſtroyed.

To prevent this misfortune, he had diſtributed his army into five diviſions, each of which had its own ſhare of ammunition and proviſions. The third day's march he was overtaken by prince Lobkowitz, who appeared at the head of a body of cavalry on the other ſide of a plain, where, if they had a mind, they might come to an engagement. Prince Lobkowitz held a council of war, in which it was reſolved not to attack an army whom deſpair muſt render invincible; he therefore determined to cut off their retreat, and to go and break down the bridges by which the French muſt paſs over the river Eger. But

But the marſhal pitched upon a road which would have been impaſſable in any other ſeaſon; for he conducted his army over frozen moraſſes. The cold was the moſt formidable enemy he had to encounter; above eight hundred ſoldiers periſhed upon the road; one of the hoſtages, whom he brought along with him from Prague, died in his coach: at length after a journey of eight and thirty leagues, he arrived the 26th of December at Egra. The ſame day the troops that remained in Prague made a glorious capitulation: M. de Chevert, who had ſcaled the town, was left to command the garriſon, which conſiſted of about three thouſand men, one third of whom were ſick: in this ſituation he took hoſtages of the town, whom he ſhut up in his own houſe, and put ſeveral tons of gunpowder into his cellars fully determined to blow them and himſelf up into the air, if the inhabitants offered the leaſt violence. This intrepidity did not a little contribute to the honourable conditions which he obtained of prince Lobkowitz. He was permitted to conduct his garriſon with all military honours to the city of Egra, except the ſick who were not able to follow him, but were forced to ſubmit to the hard condition of being made priſoners, though their behaviour deſerved a better fate. Thus this city which had been taken in half an hour, was happily evacuated after a ſiege and a blockade of five months. The French being left alone, and without allies, were not able to preſerve Bohemia for the emperor; but they reſtored him to his electoral dominions.

CHAP. V.

State of Europe during this war. Situation of affairs betwixt England and Spain. Commercial intereſts. What ſhare Italy took in the troubles which happened after the death of Charles VI. What ſhare Holland took. Death of Cardinal Fleury.

IN the ſpace of two years from the death of the laſt Auſtrian emperor to the end of 1742, we have ſeen Bohemia, Bavaria, and the upper Palatinate taken and retaken; Pruſſia and Saxony united with France till the peace of Breſlaw made in June 1742, and afterwards becoming neuter: the other princes of the empire in a profound ſilence; George the II. king of Great Britain beginning openly in 1742 to break his forced neutrality, and his troops to the number of forty eight thouſand men in Flanders in a ſtate of inaction, but ready to act; in fine the Auſtrian armies in poſſeſſion of all Bohemia, excepting the city of Egra. But there was ſtill an army of fifty thouſand French in Bavaria and in the upper Palatinate, under the command of marſhal Broglio againſt a like number of the enemy; ſo that it yet appeared dubious whether the Bavarian emperor was to be victorious with the aſſiſtance of France, or whether he ſhould be able to preſerve his patrimonial eſtate, or even the Imperial crown.

It is to be obſerved, that ſince the month of Auguſt 1741, France had at different times ſent to

the emperor's assistance one hundred and fifty squadrons, without reckoning eleven independent companies, eight of light troops, three thousand Palatines, and three thousand Hessians; to these we must add the Bavarian troops themselves which were in French pay. They likewise raised towards the end of the year 1742 thirty thousand militia distributed among the generalities, according to the number of inhabitants; in regard to which we may take notice, that the generality of Paris furnishes no more than fourteen hundred and ten men, while Normandy furnishes three thousand and ninety, which shews that the latter is considered as the most populous province.

France at that time employed every resource; for besides what she paid to the Hessians, and to the Palatines; besides the annual pension of six millions to the emperor; she granted subsidies to the king of Denmark, to prevent his furnishing the king of England with troops; and she likewise continued to pay subsidies to Sweden, whom she had assisted in her war against Russia; and had it not been for this war betwixt Sweden and Russia, the court of Petersburg might have sent thirty thousand men to the assistance of the queen of Hungary, as she did some time afterwards.

We see what efforts France was obliged to make, both at home and abroad: she was obliged to arm one part of Europe, and to maintain the other. Poland interested herself but very little in the affairs of her king, the elector of Saxony; and this prince, since the peace which he had concluded

with the queen, ſeemed to concern himſelf no farther in the quarrel of the empire. The grand ſignior, who was afraid of Schah Nadir, the uſurper of Perſia, and conqueror of part of Aſia, gave no diſturbance to Hungary. Such was the ſituation of the north, and of the eaſt of Europe, of the ſouth and of the weſt, I mean of France and Italy. Spain afforded another ſcene, wherein England acted a principal character, both by the intereſt of the equilibrium of power, which ſhe always affected to hold, and by her commerce, a more real and more ſenſible intereſt. We have already taken notice, that after the happy time of the peace of Utrecht, the Engliſh, who were in poſſeſſion of Minorca and of Gibraltar in Spain, had moreover obtained ſome privileges of the court of Madrid, which this court had refuſed even to the French her defenders. The Engliſh merchants were permitted to ſupply the Spaniſh colonies with negroes, whom they purchaſed in Africa to make ſlaves in the new world. This negroe trade, for which they paid thirty three piaſtres a head to the Spaniſh government, was an object of conſiderable gain; for the South-ſea company, in furniſhing four thouſand eight hundred negroes, had likewiſe obtained the privilege of ſelling the eight hundred without paying any duty. But the greateſt advantage the Engliſh enjoyed, in preference to other nations, was the permiſſion granted them in the year 1716, of ſending a ſhip annually to Porto Bello.

This ſhip, which in the beginning was allowed to contain no more than 500 tons, was in 1717, by

by agreement, raiſed to eight hundred and fifty tons, but in reality, and by abuſe to a thouſand, which made two millions weight of goods. Theſe thouſand tons were the leaſt part of that commerce; a pinnace attended the veſſel under pretence of carrying proviſions to it, and went continually to and fro; this pinnace took in loads of goods in the Engliſh colonies, and conveyed them to this veſſel, which being conſtantly repleniſhed, anſwered the end of a whole fleet. Beſides, other veſſels uſed to come and fill the company's ſhip, and their boats frequently landed ſuch goods on the coaſts of America as the inhabitants wanted. This was doing a great injury to the Spaniſh government, and even to the ſeveral nations concerned in the trade carried on from the ports of Spain to the gulph of Mexico.

The Spaniſh government treated the Engliſh traders with ſeverity; and ſeverities are generally carried too far. Sometimes the innocent were confounded with the guilty; the ſums lawfully due to the one were detained from them, becauſe the others had made unlawful gains; in ſhort they complained heavily on both ſides. A great many Engliſh became pirates with impunity; they met with ſome Spaniards on the coaſts of Florida, who were fiſhing for the galleons that had been caſt away, and of which they had recovered four hundred thouſand piaſters. The Engliſh killed part of the crew, and ſeized all the money. The Spaniards demanded ſatisfaction for theſe outrages of the Engliſh governors in thoſe quarters; but the

Engliſh

Engliſh free-booters, when they took a Spaniſh veſſel, uſed to ſink it, with all the crew, after they had gutted it, that there might not be any proof of their villainy. At other times they ſold thoſe Spaniards in their own colonies, and when theſe wretches demanded juſtice of the Engliſh governor, thoſe who had ſold them got off by pretending that from their ſwarthy complexion they had taken them for Negroes: the pirates underſtood one another, and divided the ſpoils with the judges, and then ſaid that they had been tried by their peers.

The Spaniſh guarda-coſtas revenged themſelves frequently of theſe cruel hoſtilities; they took a great many veſſels, and uſed the crews extremely ill. In the mean time they were negotiating at Madrid and at London to terminate the diſputes in America. By the convention of Pardo, of the fourteenth of January 1739. Spain having made up her accounts with the South-ſea company, promiſed to pay them ninety thouſand pounds ſterling in four months, making a deduction of what the company was in other reſpects indebted to Spain; but this deduction became the ſubject of a freſh quarrel, ſo that the accounts of private merchants produced a war, wherein both ſides ſpent a thouſand times more than the demand on either ſide amounted to.

During theſe tranſactions the captain of a ſhip, whoſe name was Jenkins, went and preſented himſelf before the houſe of commons in 1739: he was a plain, open man, and, as it is ſaid, had carried on no counterband trade, but had been met by a Spaniſh

Spaniſh guarda-coſta, within a certain diſtance of the American coaſt, where the Spaniards will not ſuffer any Engliſh veſſels to ſail. The Spaniſh commander ſeized on Jenkins's ſhip, laid the crew in irons, then ſplit the noſe, and cut off the ears of their captain. In this condition Jenkins appeared before the houſe, where he related this adventure with the ſimplicity uſual to his profeſſion and character. *Gentlemen*, ſaid he, *after they had mangled me in this manner, they threatened to put me to death; I expected it, and recommended my ſoul to God, but the revenge of my cauſe to my country.* Theſe words pronounced with a natural emphaſis, excited indignation and pity in the whole aſſembly; and the common people of London wrote upon the door of the houſe of commons, *A free ſea; or war.*

We have already taken notice that ſir Robert Walpole wanted to reconcile theſe differences; while his adverſaries were eager to inflame the minds of the people. Never was more real eloquence diſplayed than in the ſpeeches made at that time in both houſes of parliament; nay I queſtion whether the ſtudied harangues, which were formerly pronounced at Athens and at Rome, upon almoſt ſimilar occaſions, are ſuperior to the extemporaneous diſcourſes of ſir William Windham, Lord Carteret, ſir Robert Walpole, the earl of Cheſterfield and Mr. Pultney, ſince earl of Bath. Theſe diſcourſes, the natural effect of an Engliſh ſpirit and government, are apt to cauſe a ſurprize in thoſe who are ſtrangers to that nation; juſt as ſome commodities which are cheap and diſregarded in

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the country of their growth, are greatly prized in other places. But we muſt read theſe harangues with great precautions; for the ſpirit of party runs through them all, and the real ſtate of the nation is generally diſguiſed. The miniſterial party repreſent the government in a flouriſhing condition; while the contrary faction affirm that the nation is ruined and undone. *Where are thoſe days*, cried a member at that time in the houſe, *when a miniſter declared, that no power in Europe ſhould fire a ſingle cannon, without leave firſt obtained from England?*

At length the public voice of the nation determined the king and parliament; letters of repriſals were delivered out to the merchants, and to privateers; and war was declared in form againſt Spain, towards the end of 1739.

At firſt the ſea was the ſcene of action between the two nations, in which the privateers on both ſides, provided with letters patent, began in Europe and America to attack the merchant ſhips, and mutually to deſtroy the very commerce for which they were fighting; but they ſoon proceeded to greater hoſtilities.

Admiral Vernon appeared in 1740, in the gulf of Mexico, where he attacked and took the town of Porto Bello, the ſtaple of the treaſures of the new world. He demoliſhed the fortifications of this place, and made it a new channel of communication, by which the Engliſh continued, ſword in hand, to carry on that commerce, which had been hitherto clandeſtine, and the cauſe of the rupture. This expedition was conſidered by the Engliſh as

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one of the greateſt ſervices done to the nation. The admiral received the thanks of both houſes of parliament, and they wrote to him juſt as they had done to the duke of Marlborough after the battle of Hockſtet. From that time the South-ſea ſtocks roſe notwithſtanding the immenſe expences of the nation. The Engliſh now expected to conquer Spaniſh America, imagining that nothing could withſtand admiral Vernon: and when this admiral went ſome time after to lay ſiege to Carthagena, they anticipated the celebration of the taking it; for at the very time when Vernon was raiſing the ſiege, they ſtruck a medal, on which were to be ſeen the harbour and the environs of Carthagena, with this legend: *He has taken Carthagena.* The reverſe repreſented admiral Vernon, with theſe words; *to the avenger of his country.* There are a great many examples of theſe haſty medals, which would impoſe upon poſterity, if the more faithful and more exact repreſentations of hiſtory did not prevent ſuch errors.

The navy of France, though in a weak condition, was yet able to ſtop the progreſs of the Engliſh; and ſquadrons were ſent to protect the veſſels and coaſts of Spain. The Engliſh not being yet come to a rupture with France, could not, according to the law of nations, inſult the French flag; but they eluded this new kind of policy by a new artifice. They pretended twice to miſtake the French ſhips for Spaniſh; thus ſix of their men of war attacked the chevalier d'Epinay, in the neighbourhood of St. Domingo, who had only four, each of which mounted fewer guns than any of the Engliſh; but finding

finding themſelves very roughly handled, they put an end to the engagement, aſking pardon for their miſtake. This was a new way of juſtifying hoſtilities; they behaved in the very ſame manner towards the ſtreights of Gibraltar, to the chevalier de Caylus, who gave them the very ſame reception, though they were five to three; thus they tried one another's ſtrength, without declaring war. Such was the firſt beginning of that extraordinary kind of policy, of waging war in full peace; of committing hoſtilities in one part of the world, while they ſhewed mutual reſpect in the other, and of having ambaſſadors at an enemy's court. This ſort of caution was of ſome comfort to the people, becauſe at leaſt it ſhewed a mark of moderation, and gave them ſtill hopes of public harmony.

Such was the ſituation of France in regard to Spain and England, when the death of the emperor Charles VI. threw Europe into confuſion. We have already ſeen what effects were felt in Germany from the quarrel between Auſtria and Bavaria. Italy was ſoon laid waſte by this Auſtrian ſucceſſion: Spain claimed the duchy of Milan; and Parma and Placentia were to deſcend by right of blood to one of the ſons of the queen, born princeſs of Parma.

Philip V. wanted to have the duchy of Milan for his third ſon; for it would have alarmed Italy too much, had he deſigned Parma and Placentia for don Carlos, who was already maſter of Naples and Sicily. The union of too many ſtates under the ſame ſovereign would have given a general umbrage:

brage: ſo that don Philip was the prince for whom he allotted the duchies of Milan and Parma.

The queen of Hungary, then in poſſeſſion of the Milaneſe, uſed her beſt endeavours to maintain her ground in that country. The king of Sardinia likewiſe revived his claims to this province: he was afraid to ſee it in the hands of the houſe of Lorrain, engrafted on the houſe of Auſtria, which being poſſeſſed at the ſame time of the Milaneſe and of Tuſcany, might ſoon ſtrip him of thoſe territories which had been ceded to him by the treaties of 1737 and 1738; but he was ſtill more afraid of ſeeing himſelf hemmed in by France and by a prince of the houſe of Bourbon, while another prince of this family ſat upon the throne of Naples and Sicily.

So early as the firſt of January 1742, he publiſhed a declaration of his rights; in the February following, he determined to join his forces to the queen of Hungary's, without agreeing with her in the main; they only united at preſent againſt the common danger. They propoſed no other advantage at that time; the king of Sardinia even expreſsly reſerved to himſelf the power of taking other meaſures whenever he thought proper; ſo that upon the whole it was no more than a treaty betwixt two enemies, who thought only of defending themſelves againſt a third. The court of Spain ſent don Philip to attack the king of Sardinia, who neither choſe to have him for his friend nor for his neighbour. Cardinal Fleury granted a

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paſſage to don Philip, and to a part of his army through France; but refuſed to aſſiſt him with troops. He thought he had done enough already in ſending a fleet to America.

This miniſter, a year after he had ſent two armies into Germany, of about forty thouſand men each, to the aſſiſtance of the elector of Bavaria, ſeemed to be afraid of lending twelve thouſand men to a prince of the houſe of Auſtria, and ſon-in-law of Lewis XV. At one time we do a great deal; and at another time we are afraid of doing ever ſo little. The reaſon of this conduct was, that he flattered himſelf ſtill with the hopes of gaining the duke of Savoy, who ſeemed to leave the door open for an accommodation.

The cardinal had another motive; he did not care to come to an open rupture at that time with the Engliſh, who would have infallibly declared war againſt France. For in the month of February, 1742, the parliament had voted forty thouſand ſeamen for the public ſervice, and four pounds for each man; they likewiſe granted conſiderable ſupplies to the king, ſtrongly recommending to him the balance of Europe. The Engliſh had a conſiderable fleet in the neighbourhood of Gibraltar, and another near Toulon; and the cardinal, who had hitherto preſerved the aſcendant over England in his negotiations, and who long depended on the ſuperiority of the cabinet, had neglected that of the ſea. The revolutions on the continent, which began in Germany, did not permit him to bid defiance every where to the maritime

time powers. The Engliſh openly oppoſed the ſettlement of don Philip in Italy under the pretence of maintaining the equilibrium of Europe; but when they engaged in the war of 1702, in order to ſettle Spain, the new world, the Milaneſe, Mantua, Naples, Sicily, and Flanders, upon the archduke Charles, while his brother Joſeph was poſſeſſed of Hungary, Auſtria, Bohemia, and ſo many other dominions, together with the Imperial dignity, they ſurely looked upon the equilibrium with a different eye.

The caſe is, that the balance of power, however underſtood, was become the favourite paſſion of the people of England: but the miniſtry had another more ſecret view; they wanted to oblige Spain to grant England a ſhare of the trade of the new world. Upon this condition they would have aſſiſted don Philip to paſs into Italy, as they had aſſiſted don Carlos in 1731. But the court of Spain did not think proper to enrich her enemy, and moreover depended on being able to ſettle don Philip in ſpite of the Engliſh. In the months of November and December 1741, the Spaniards had tranſported ſeveral bodies of troops into Italy by ſea, under the command of the duke of Montemar, famous for his victory of Bitonto, and afterwards for his diſgrace. Theſe troops landed at different times on the coaſts of Tuſcany, and in the ports of the ſtate *Degli Preſidii*, belonging to the crown of the two Sicilies. As they were under a neceſſity of paſſing through the territories of Tuſcany, the grand duke, huſband of the queen of Hungary, granted them a free paſ-

ſage, declaring himſelf neuter in the cauſe of his wife. Pope Benedict XIV. through whoſe territories the Spaniſh army was likewiſe obliged to paſs in the ſame conjuncture, as well as the Auſtrian forces, promiſed the ſame neutrality, for a better reaſon than any other prince, as the common father of princes and nations.

At the ſame time freſh troops arrived from Spain by the way of Genoa; this republic pretended alſo to a neutrality, and let them paſs. Don Carlos embraced likewiſe a neutrality; though the cauſe of his father and his brother was concerned; but of all thoſe powers, in appearance neuter, not one was ſo in reality. The king of the two Sicilies ſent to the duke of Montemar ſome Neapolitan regiments in the Spaniſh pay. This prince had been obliged to promiſe not to concern himſelf in this quarrel; becauſe neither the coaſt nor the city of Naples, were ſheltered from the bombardments of an Engliſh fleet. He had not yet had time to render his new kingdom a potent ſtate, ſuch as it had been formerly under the Norman princes, and thoſe of the houſe of Anjou. It was now near three hundred years ſince the Neapolitans had ſeen a ſovereign reſiding in their capital, which being always governed by viceroys, and often changing maſters, had not been able to acquire that vigour and ſtrength, which a ſtate derives from the ſettled adminiſtration of a prince who reſides there in perſon. The king had begun with eſtabliſhing order and commerce in his new dominions; but it muſt be the work of time to raiſe a navy, and to form

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diſciplined and warlike troops. All his neutrality, however, did not prevent the duke of Montemar's army, as we have obſerved, from being greatly increaſed by ſeveral Neapolitan regiments. By ſuch a conduct don Carlos exerciſed his troops, and preſerved peace and commerce throughout his dominions.

The duke of Modena was already in the intereſt of Spain; Genoa was alſo inclined the ſame way; and the pope having acknowledged the emperor, immediately after his election, did not appear neuter in the eyes of the queen of Hungary.

Count Traun, who was governor of the Milaneſe for this princeſs, drew all his forces together with thoſe which were ſent him from Tyrol, in order to oppoſe the Spaniards. In the beginning of March 1740, the king of Sardinia joined the Auſtrians with a ſtrong body of forces, and advanced towards the duchy of Parma. This prince ſeemed deſerving of a greater extent of territory than that which he poſſeſſed, and which he now was endeavouring to enlarge; he exerted then as much courage and activity in the Auſtrian cauſe, as he had diſplayed againſt that houſe in 1733. In both theſe wars he ſhewed the value of his alliance, and that no means ought to be neglected either of making him a friend, or of putting it out of his power to hurt. He had excellent miniſters, good generals, and was himſelf both miniſter and general, very ſaving in his expences, artful in his conduct, unwearied in labour, and brave in war.

Towards the month of May, he had already eighteen thouſand men on the ſide of Parma, and the Auſtrians about twelve thouſand towards the

territory of Bologna. The duke of Montemar, being ſomewhat inferior in forces, was obliged to give way. The king of Sardinia advanced as far as Modena, wanting to draw the duke from his neutrality, and to compel him to change ſides. He propoſed to him, in concert with the Auſtrians, to deliver up his citadel: but this prince, and his ſpouſe, had too much reſolution to join againſt their will with a party in which they had no concern; they preferred therefore the misfortune of loſing their dominions for a while, to the diſgrace of depending on thoſe who were propoſing a real ſervitude to them, under the name of an alliance. In conſequence of this reſolution, they quitted their principality, and retired to Ferrara, while the Auſtrians and Piedmonteſe ſeized and almoſt ruined the whole duchy of Modena; ſuch was the end of their neutrality.

With regard to the pope, though the queen of Hungary did not compel him to depart from the ſyſtem he had taken, yet ſhe obliged him at leaſt to furniſh her with the means of carrying on the war, even in the territories of the holy ſee: for as ſoon as her arms had gained the upper hand, ſhe obtained, in the month of June, a bull from his holineſs for levying the tenth penny on the church-lands in all her Italian dominions. Her troops, which were in purſuit of the duke of Montemar, through the territory of Bologna, and the marquiſate of Ancona, lived at the expences of the pope's ſubjects. Rome had no means of cauſing her neutrality to be reſpected. It was no longer the time when the popes defended, or enlarged their dominions,

nions, ſword in hand. With more riches they are leſs powerful; they have neither generals nor armies, and purſuing now, for two hundred years, a plan of peaceful politics, they generally receive the law from the army which is neareſt their dominions. Some years ago cardinal Alberoni wanted to remedy this weakneſs, by propoſing to eſtabliſh an Italic body, of which the pope was to be the head, as we ſee in Germany that the emperor is at the head of the Germanic body; but this project was too comprehenſive to ſcreen them from the calamities to which a neutral and defenceleſs country is expoſed by the fortune of war.

As to the neutrality of the king of Naples, it turned out thus: the eighteenth of Auguſt they were ſurpriſed to ſee within ſight of the port of Naples an Engliſh ſquadron, conſiſting of ſix ſhips of ſixty guns, with ſix frigates, and two bomb-ketches. Commodore Martin, who commanded this ſquadron, diſpatched an officer on ſhore with a letter to the chief miniſter, which contained in ſubſtance that the king muſt withdraw his troops from the Spaniſh army, or that very inſtant he would bombard the town. Upon this ſome conferences were held; but the Engliſh captain at length ſaid, that he would give them only an hour to determine. The port was but ill provided with artillery; nor had they taken any precautions againſt an inſult which they never expected: then they perceived that the ancient maxim, *viz.* *He who is maſter at ſea, is alſo maſter by land*, is often true. They were obliged to ſign every thing that the Engliſh commodore deſired, and even to obſerve

this treaty thus ſigned, till they had time to provide for the defence and ſecurity of the port and kingdom.

The Engliſh themſelves were ſenſible that the king of Naples could no longer abide by this forced neutrality in Italy, than the king of England had obſerved his in Germany. The duke of Montemar, who was come into Italy in order to make a conqueſt of Lombardy, was now retiring towards the kingdom of Naples, ſtill hard preſſed by the Auſtrians. At this very juncture the king of Sardinia returned to Piedmont, and to his duchy of Savoy, where the viciſſitudes of war rendered his preſence neceſſary. The infant don Philip had in vain attempted to land ſome more forces at Genoa; the Engliſh fleet kept ſuch a good look out, as to render it impracticable; upon which he reſolved to march his army into the duchy of Savoy, and to take poſſeſſion of that country. Having accordingly executed his deſign, the magiſtrates of Chamberry yielded homage to him; when he forced the inhabitants, upon pain of death, not to hold the leaſt correſpondence with their old maſter. King Charles Emmanuel paſſes the Alps with twenty thouſand men, and the infant, who had hardly two thouſand, was obliged to relinquiſh his conqueſt, and to retire into Dauphiné, where he waited for reinforcements. As ſoon as theſe were arrived, the Spaniards made themſelves maſters of Savoy a ſecond time: this is almoſt an open country on the ſide of Dauphiné, a country both poor and barren, from whence the ſovereign hardly receives a million of livres annual revenue.

Charles Emmanuel abandoned it now to the Spaniards, in order to defend other provinces of greater importance.

From this ſketch it appears that all the contending powers were in conſtant alarm, and experienced a continual viciſſitude from the further end of Sileſia to the extremity of Italy. Auſtria at that time was in open war only with Bavaria and Spain; Naples, Florence, Genoa, and Rome were neuter; the people of the duchies of Milan, Mantua, Parma, Modena, and Guaſtalla, looked upon all theſe irruptions and commotions with an impotent concern, long accuſtomed to be a prey to the conqueror, without even preſuming to give him either their excluſion or their vote. The court of Spain applied to the Swiſs to grant leave for the Spaniſh troops to march through their territory into Italy, but it was refuſed. The Swiſs ſell their men to the different princes of Europe, and yet defend their country againſt them: the government is pacific, and the people warlike; ſo that ſuch a neutrality as theirs was reſpected. Venice raiſed twenty thouſand men in order to give a weight to her neutrality.

All Germany ſeemed indifferent in the quarrel between Auſtria and Bavaria. Even the elector of Cologne did not preſume to take the part of his brother the emperor, being afraid of the duke of Modena's fate. It is true Hanover embraced one ſide, but as a country ſubject to the king of England, and whoſe troops were in Britiſh pay. Beſides, the German princes that let out their troops for hire were ſtill looked upon as

neuter. The territories of the empire, through which the contending armies marched, were seldom plundered. The French paid ready money for every thing; the Auſtrians gave notes; and England and Holland ſtill preſerved an outward appearance of peace with France. There was an Engliſh conſul at Naples, a French miniſter at Turin, and even at Vienna, and thoſe ſtates had theirs at Paris; but at the bottom the courts of Vienna, London and Turin, were uſing their utmoſt endeavours to ſhake the foundation of the French monarchy.

England ſolicited Holland more than ever to declare war, and France omitted no pains to prevent ſuch a declaration. This little republic might at that time have enjoyed the glory of being the umpire betwixt the houſes of Bourbon and of Auſtria; it was her intereſt, and it would have been noble in her to have taken that ſtep; but the Engliſh faction, which was now uppermoſt at the Hague, prevailed over the moderate party, and Holland miſſed the only opportunity they ever will have, of acting a grander part than any power in Europe. It often happens that a ſingle man ſhews more judgment than a whole ſenate and people, in times of factions and general prejudices. M. Van Hoy, ambaſſador from the ſtates general to the court of France, conſtantly repreſented to them that the character of mediators was the only one that ſuited their intereſt and glory; that if they took a contrary reſolution, they would certainly repent it when too late. But the faction then predominant at the Hague grew incenſed at his counſels,

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and ſent him ſuch orders as before were never heard, not to inſert any more reflexions in his letters. Thoſe who were ſticklers for a war cauſed his letters to be printed in Holland in order to expoſe them to ridicule, as if they appeared rather to be the exhortations of a philoſopher than the papers of an ambaſſador; but they only publiſhed their own condemnation.

There were indeed ſome few members of the ſtates general who thought, and who ſpoke like this miniſter, but very little attention was paid them; the word *liberty* alone, the remembrance of Lewis XIV's irruption, and the hopes of reducing the power of his ſucceſſor, inflamed their minds. One would not think it at all probable, that in the preſent age we live in there ſhould have been an attempt to revive the cuſtoms and manners of ancient Greece: and yet this we ſaw at that time in Holland. M. William Van Haren, a young gentleman, one of the deputies of the province of Friſeland to the ſtates general, compoſed ſome allegorical poems in order to excite the nation againſt the king of France. Theſe pieces contained a great many beautiful ſtrokes; and the author had the art of enriching his language, and of rendering it harmonious which indeed it greatly wanted. His verſes, though ſublime and allegorical, were underſtood by the people, becauſe they were natural, and the allegory was clear: they were read even in the villages, and in the midſt of the public ſquares after divine ſervice; and the readers were liberally paid by the people, as had been formerly the caſe with Homer's rhapſodiſts. Nothing

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contributed more than this to inflame the Dutch. It had been propoſed to augment the troops of the republic to the number of twenty thouſand, in order to ſend effectual ſuccours to the queen of Hungary; but the deputies of Amſterdam ſtill were wavering. In this ſituation they received a letter from a quarter of the town which is called *le Jourdan*, and has been always very tumultuous; the letter was couched very near in theſe terms: *Meſſieurs du Jordain give notice to meſſieurs the deputies, that probably they may have their throats cut, unleſs they conſent to the raiſing of twenty thouſand men.* In fact this augmentation was ordered ſome months after *, and the Dutch had then an army of fourſcore thouſand men.

There was no appearance as yet that the united provinces were to have a ſtadtholder; this prince's party was gathering ſtrength, though under hand: it was eaſy to foreſee that the ſame people who ſo loudly cried out for war, and who forced their governors to augment the troops, might one day oblige them to chuſe themſelves a maſter. But the magiſtrates moſt devoted to the Engliſh faction, though determined for a war, were ſtill more ſo for the preſervation of their authority: they had a greater apprehenſion of a ſtadtholder than of the arms of France. This appeared very plainly in the promotion of the month of September 1742, for notwithſtanding the preſſing inſtances of the provinces of Groningen and Friſeland, who deſired that the prince of Orange ſhould be named general

* 2d of March 1743.

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of foot, the ſtates made him only a lieutenant general. The prince with indignation rejected the title.

In this violent ſituation were all thoſe powers at the beginning of the year 1743. when cardinal Fleury, after having been obliged, in a very advanced old age, and notwithſtanding his pacific character, to throw Europe into a combuſtion, quitted the ſtage, leaving the affairs of the French nation in ſuch a criſis, as indeed interrupted that ſeries of proſperity which he had enjoyed all his life, but did not diſturb the tranquillity of his mind. He was ninety years and ſeven months old: and if we do but reflect, that, by the exacteſt calculations, out of one hundred and forty cotemporaries, not above one according to the courſe of nature comes to the age of fourſcore, the cardinal ought to be conſidered as a happy man. But if we reflect further, that of thoſe who arrive at this great age, ſeldom one in a thouſand preſerves a ſufficient vigour of body and mind for the management of affairs; and, in fine, if we recollect that the Cardinal began his function of prime miniſter at the age of ſeventy three, that is, at a ſtage when the greateſt part of mankind retire from buſineſs; we muſt allow that no man ever finiſhed a more extraordinary or more happy career.

As his good fortune was ſingular, ſo was his moderation. Cardinal Ximenes continued to wear a cordelier's habit, but had the riches of a ſovereign, and levied armies at his own expence. Cardinal Amboiſe wanted the triple crown. Wol-

ſey in his diſgrace bewailed the condition to which he was reduced, of being attended upon the road by no more than 180 domeſtics. Every body knows the pomp and pride of cardinal Richlieu, and the immenſe wealth left by Mazarin. Cardinal Fleury had nothing left to diſtinguiſh him but his modeſty; born to no fortune, and ſupported merely by the generoſity of one of his uncles, he ſpent what he received in good natured offices. When he came to be miniſter, his whole revenue conſiſted of ſixty thouſand livres coming from two benefices, of twenty thouſand from his place in council, and fifteen thouſand on the poſt-office; the half of which he expended in private charities, and with the other half he kept a moderate houſe and frugal table. His whole furniture did not amount to above the value of two thouſand crowns.

This ſimplicity, which contributed to his reputation and fortune, was not the conſequence of any extraordinary reſolution; men ſeldom keep thoſe reſolutions ſo long. In this manner he had always lived, entirely employed in rendering himſelf agreeable to ſociety, and in diſtinguiſhing himſelf by thoſe agreeable qualities which ſo well ſuited his character. When he was at court as almoner to madame the dauphineſs, he gained the good will of every body. His converſation was ſweet and agreeable; ſupported by pleaſant anecdotes, now and then enlivened by a pleaſant raillery, which, far from being offenſive, had ſomething flattering in its nature. He wrote as he ſpoke; there are ſtill ſome ſhort letters of his remaining,

remaining, which were penned fifteen days before his death, and plainly prove that he preſerved this pleaſant vivacity to the very laſt. All the ladies at court were full of his praiſes, and yet none of the men were jealous. Lewis XIV. refuſed him a biſhopric a long time. I heard the cardinal tell the ſtory himſelf, that when at length he obtained the biſhoprick of Frejus, after he had loſt all expectations of it, the king ſaid to him: *I have made you wait ſomewhat longer, becauſe you had too many friends who were ſoliciting for you, and I was willing to have the ſatisfaction that you ſhould be indebted to nobody but to myſelf.*

Though he had a great number of what we commonly call friends, yet it was neither his principle nor his inclination to laviſh wantonly his friendſhip. Thus he beſtowed only the outward appearances of it, but in ſuch a manner as included no violent fondneſs nor impoſition; and he knew how to conciliate the affections of the generality, without ever truſting his ſecret to any body.

He reſigned his biſhoprick as ſoon as he was able, after he had eaſed it of debts by his œconomy, and done a vaſt deal of good by his ſpirit of reconciliation. Theſe were the two predominant parts of his character. The reaſon he gave to the people of his dioceſe was his bad ſtate of health, which rendered him quite unfit to attend his flock. It is for this very reaſon that in the time of the regency he refuſed the archbiſhoprick of Rheims, which was offered him by the duke of Orleans. When marſhal Villars preſſed him to

accept of it, he anſwered, that it would not become him to have health ſufficient to govern the archbiſhoprick of Rheims, when he had not enough to direct the dioceſe of Frejus.

This biſhoprick of Frejus was at a great diſtance from the court, and in a country not over and above agreeable; for which reaſon he never liked it. He uſed to ſay that as ſoon as he ſaw his wife, he repented his marriage; and in one of his pleaſant humours he ſubſcribed himſelf in a letter to cardinal Quirini, *Fleury by the divine indignation biſhop of Frejus.*

He reſigned his biſhoprick towards the beginning of 1715. The court of Rome well informed with regard to the eccleſiaſtical affairs of other kingdoms, ſeemed convinced that the voluntary and abſolute ſacrifice of this biſhoprick muſt have been founded on the deſign of making him preceptor to the dauphin. Pope Clement XI. had ſo little doubt about it, that he mentioned it publickly; and indeed marſhal Villeroy after a great many ſollicitations, prevailed on Lewis XIV. to name the biſhop of Frejus to that office by a codicil. And yet the new preceptor explains himſelf about this matter to cardinal Quirini in the following manner.

More than once have I regretted the loſs of my ſolitude of Frejus. At my arrival I was informed that the king was at the point of death, and that he had done me the honour to nominate me preceptor to his great grandſon. Had he been in a capacity to hear me, I ſhould have begged of him to eaſe me of a burden which makes me tremble; but after his death they would

would not ſo much as liſten to me: the concern has diſordered me very much, and I am quite diſconſolate for the loſs of my liberty.

He comforted himſelf however in forming his pupil inſenſibly to buſineſs, to ſecrecy, to honour; and in all the agitations of the court, during the minority, he preſerved the regent's good will, and the general eſteem; never putting himſelf forward, never complaining, never expoſing himſelf to denials, nor entering into intrigues; but all this time he ſecretly informed himſelf concerning the internal adminiſtration of the kingdom, and the policy of foreign nations. The circumſpection of his conduct, his good ſenſe, and engaging manner, made France deſirous to ſee him at the head of affairs, where at length he was placed by particular circumſtances whether he would or not; and his conduct in that high ſtation clearly proved that lenity and patience are the qualifications moſt requiſite for human government. His adminiſtration was leſs envied and leſs oppoſed than that of Richlieu or of Mazarin, even in their happieſt days. His place made no ſort of alteration in his manners. It was a ſubject of ſurprize that the prime miniſter ſhould be without exception the moſt amiable and at the ſame time the moſt diſintereſted of any perſon at court. The welfare of the ſtate agreed a long time with his moderation; the public had need of that peace which he was ſo fond of, and all the foreign miniſters believed that in his lifetime it would never be interrupted.

When he appeared in 1725 at the congreſs of Soiſſons, the ſeveral miniſters looked upon him as

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their father, a title which many princes and even the emperor Charles VI. ſometimes gave him in their letters. At length in 1733 they preſumed too much on the reputation he bore of being a pacific man. The high chancellor at Vienna publickly declared that they might act as they pleaſed againſt king Staniſlaus, for the cardinal would bear it. Being forced then into a war, he managed it with prudence and ſucceſs, and made a happy end of it. The treaty indeed ſatisfied neither Spain nor Savoy, but it gave Lorrain to France; and when we are to chuſe whether we are to ſerve our allies or our country, there is not the leaſt room to heſitate.

Thus without having any grand project he did ſome grand things, by following ſuch meaſures as naturally led to the events. His tranquil character made him fear, and even undervalue perſons of deep and active capacities, who he pretended were never quiet: but as this active ſpirit is generally attended with abilities, he kept all ſuch at too great a diſtance. He had a greater diſtruſt of men than deſire of knowing them: his age and character led him to think that there were no more men of genius in France in whatever branch, and even if there were, that he might do without them, and that it was a matter of great indifference what perſons he employed. The œconomy which he obſerved in his own private family he would fain have introduced into the public adminiſtration. This was the cauſe of his neglecting to maintain a powerful navy. He did not imagine that the ſtate would have any need of a fleet againſt the

Engliſh,

Engliſh, whom he had long amuſed with his negotiations; but negotiations alter, while a navy continues. The principle of his adminiſtration was to obſerve a regularity in the finances, and to let France recover of herſelf *like a robuſt body which has felt ſome diſorder, and wants nothing but diet and temperance.* Theſe are the very words he made uſe of in anſwer to a grand project of innovation in the finances; and indeed the national commerce left to itſelf was very flouriſhing while the peace laſted, but not being ſupported by maritime forces equal to thoſe of the Engliſh, it declined very much during the great war of 1741.

His adminiſtration was not diſtinguiſhed by any new ſettlement, by pompous monuments, or by any of thoſe magnificent inſtitutions which ſtrike the eyes of the public: but moderation, ſimplicity, uniformity, and prudence are virtues that will tranſmit his name to future ages.

To conclude, the moſt peaceful of all miniſters was dragged into the moſt violent quarrel: and a miniſter the moſt ſparing of the treaſures of France, was obliged to ſquander them away upon a war, which in his time proved very unfortunate.

The king was preſent at his laſt moments, when he wept over him, and brought the dauphin into his apartment; but as they kept this young prince at ſome diſtance from the bed of the dying perſon, the cardinal deſired them to bring him nearer. *It is fit*, ſaid he, *that he be accuſtomed to ſuch ſights as theſe.* At length, after having lived ninety years, he met death undaunted.

CHAP. VI.

Melancholy ſituation of the emperor Charles VII. Loſs of the battle of Dettingen. The French army, which was ſent to the emperor's aſſiſtance in Bavaria, deſerts him.

NO ſooner had cardinal Fleury departed this life, than the king, who had informed himſelf concerning the ſeveral branches of the adminiſtration, even in the minuteſt particulars, took the reins of government into his own hands. He was then fully determined to accept of an honourable peace, or vigorouſly to proſecute a neceſſary war; and whatever might happen, inviolably to keep his word.

He made no change in the meaſures already taken; the ſame generals commanded.

It is pretended by ſome, that the miſtakes, which occaſioned the loſs of Bohemia and Bavaria the preceding year, were repeated in 1743; that the forces of France and Bavaria mouldered away of themſelves, being divided into too many ſeparate bodies. The misfortunes of the French began with the mortality which ſeized their troops in Bavaria: it often happens that an army loſes more men by inaction than by military toil; and one of the principal cares of a general ſhould be to prevent the ſpreading of ſickneſs among his men. The French ſoldiers ſpent the end of 1742, and the beginning of 1743, crowded one upon another in German ſtoves; and this alone deſtroyed a great number. But what hurt their affairs the moſt of all,

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was the misunderstanding betwixt marshal Broglio and count Seckendorf, who at that time commanded the Bavarians. The latter, who had prince Charles to deal with, wanted the French general to send him reinforcements, which would have weakened his army; and marshal Broglio being employed against prince Lobkowitz, frequently refused to comply with his desire. The emperor who was then at Munich could not reconcile them. In the public papers it was said that he had forty thousand men, but he had not really more than twenty thousand.

Prince Charles having drawn all his forces together, towards the river Inn, obtained a complete victory in the neighbourhood of Braunaw, over the Bavarians, where he destroyed a body of eight thousand men, and took general Minuzzi prisoner, with three other general officers. The scattered remains of the Bavarian army retired to Braunaw; and the whole electorate was soon open to the Austrians. Mary Teresa was apprized of this news the very day she was crowned at Prague, where her rival had been crowned but a while before. There was now no army to oppose the progress of prince Charles; so that he made himself master of Dengilfing, Deckendorf, and Landaw upon the Isser, in all which places he took a number of prisoners.

On the other side Prince Lobkowitz penetrated into the upper Palatinate, and marshal Broglio retired towards Ingolstadt. The emperor was then obliged to fly once more from his capital, and to seek for shelter in Augsburg, an Imperial city. But

here he did not ſtay long: as he quitted the town he had the mortification to ſee Mentzel enter at the head of his Pandours, who had the brutality to inſult him in the ſtreets: from thence he took refuge in Francfort. All theſe events followed cloſe upon one another in the months of May and June.

As this prince's misfortunes multiplied every day, he was reduced to the melancholy condition of imploring pity of this very queen of Hungary whom he had been ſo near dethroning; in ſhort he offered to renounce all his pretenſions to the inheritance of the houſe of Auſtria. The hereditary prince of Heſſe Caſſel charged himſelf with this negotiation, and waited upon the king of England, who was then at Hanover, with the emperor's propoſals. King George made anſwer that he would conſult his parliament. This very negotiation of the prince of Heſſe only ſerved to convince Charles VII. that his enemies had conceived a deſign to dethrone him. Finding this ſtep ineffectual, he took the reſolution of declaring himſelf neuter in his own cauſe, and deſired the queen of Hungary to let him leave the ſhattered remains of his army in Suabia, where they ſhould be conſidered as troops belonging to the empire. He offered at the ſame time to ſend marſhal Broglio's army back into France. The queen replied, *that ſhe was not at war with the head of the empire, ſince according to the diſpoſition of the golden bull which had been violated at his election, ſhe had never acknowledged him as emperor; that ſhe would therefore attack his troops wherever ſhe met them; yet ſhe would not hinder him from taking*

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shelter within the territories of the empire, excepting the electorate of Bavaria.

At this ſame time the earl of Stairs was advancing towards Frankfort, with an army of upwards of fifty thouſand men, compoſed of Engliſh, Hanoverians, and Auſtrians. The king of England arrived there with his ſecond ſon the duke of Cumberland, after paſſing by Frankfort, the aſylum of that ſame emperor whom he ſtill acknowledged as his ſovereign, and againſt whom he waged war with hopes of diſpoſſeſſing him of his throne.

The Dutch at length conſented to join the confederate armies with twenty thouſand men, thinking the time was now come when they might take this ſtep, without running any riſk, and that they might cruſh the French without a declaration of war. They ſent ſix thouſand men into Flanders, to replace the Auſtrian garriſons, and prepared fourteen thouſand men for Germany; but very ſlowly, according to the genius of their republic. At that time they believed at the Hague, at Vienna, and at London, that France was exhauſted of men and money; or they pretended ſo to believe. One of the principal members of the republic affirmed, that France could not bring above a hundred thouſand men into the field, and that ſhe had not above two hundred millions of livres in current ſpecie. This was miſrepreſenting things ſtrangely; but it was likewiſe exciting the people, who muſt often be deceived.

In the mean while the king of France ſent marſhal Noailles at the head of ſixty ſix battalions and one hundred and thirty eight ſquadrons, with

orders to attack the Engliſh wherever he found them: at the ſame time he determined to lend ſuccours to Don Philip in Italy, in caſe the king of Sardinia refuſed coming to an agreement. Towards the Danube he had ſtill a complete army of ſixty ſix battalions and a hundred and fifteen ſquadrons, which were at hand to relieve Egra on the one ſide, or Bavaria on the other. He faced about on every ſide, though he was only an auxiliary; while the emperor, who was now withdrawn from Augſburg to Frankfort, ſaw his fate depending on the ſucceſs of his allies or of his enemies.

This prince's quarrel, and thoſe which it gave riſe to, employed ten armies all at the ſame time, five in Germany, and five in Italy. In the firſt place there was in Germany marſhal Broglio's army, which defended Bavaria: it conſiſted in the main of all thoſe regiments which had eſcaped from Bohemia, and of the half of marſhal Belleiſle's troops, which in conjunction with the Bavarians compoſed a formidable army. The ſecond was that commanded by prince Charles, which preſſed hard upon marſhal Broglio, and was ravaging Bavaria. The third was that of marſhal Noailles towards the Rhine, augmented likewiſe by the troops and recruits of marſhal Belleiſle: againſt him were the Hanoverians and Auſtrians united, to the number of above fifty thouſand men, which made the fourth army under king George the ſecond: the fifth was that of the fourteen thouſand Dutch, who were advancing ſlowly towards the Maine, in order to join the Engliſh too late.

The five armies in Italy were, that of the infant

Don Philip which had ſubdued Savoy. That of the king of Sardinia, part of which guarded the paſſage of the Alps, and the other had joined the Auſtrians. This Auſtrian army reached from the Milaneſe to the neighbourhood of Bologna. Theſe were oppoſed by count Gages, a Fleming by birth, whoſe merit had raiſed him to the command of the Spaniſh army, in the place of the duke of Montemar. The fifth was that of Naples, which was withheld from acting, by a neutrality juſt then expiring. To theſe ten armies we might add an eleventh, namely that of Venice, which was raiſed only to guard againſt all the reſt. All theſe great preparations held Europe in ſuſpence. This was a game which the princes kept playing from one end of Europe to the other, thus hazarding almoſt upon equal terms the blood and the property of their people, and balancing fortune for a long time by a compenſation of exploits, miſtakes and loſſes. It is very difficult to gain ground in Italy; for on the ſide of Piedmont, a ſingle rock may coſt a whole army, and towards Lombardy the country is interſected with rivers and canals.

Count Gages had paſſed the Panaro, and attacked count Traun: theſe two generals fought a battle in February at Campo Santo, for which *Te Deum* was ſung at Madrid and at Vienna; and this battle which coſt the lives of many brave ſoldiers on both ſides, procured no advantage to either; but in Germany they expected ſomething more deciſive.

The marſhal duke de Noailles, who command-

ed the army againſt the king of England, had borne arms ſince he was fifteen years of age: he had alſo commanded in Catalonia, and paſſed through all the offices that can be ſerved under a government. He had the direction of the finances at the beginning of the regency. Thus he was a general and a miniſter of ſtate; and in all theſe employments he had conſtantly cultivated polite learning, an example formerly common among the Greeks and Romans, but very little followed at preſent in Europe. This general by a particular operation gained a ſuperiority in the field. He kept along ſide the king of England's army, who had the Maine betwixt him and the French; and he cut off their proviſions by making himſelf maſter of all the paſſes both above and below their camp.

The king of England's head quarters were at Aſchaffenburg, a town belonging to the elector of Mentz. He had taken this ſtep contrary to the opinion of his general the earl of Stairs, which he had reaſon to repent; for his army was now blocked up and almoſt ſtarved by marſhal Noailles; and the ſoldiers were reduced to half allowance: The king found himſelf at length under a neceſſity of retreating, in order to ſeek proviſions at Hanau in the road to Frankfort; but in his retreat he was expoſed to the batteries of the enemy's cannon, which were erected along the banks of the Maine. Thus he was obliged to make a precipitate march with an armyweakened by want * and whoſe rear might be cut off by the French: for marſhal Noailles

* They were in ſo great a diſtreſs for want of forage, that it was propoſed to hamſtring the horſes, and they would have done it, had they continued two days longer in this ſituation.

had

had the precaution to throw bridges over the river between Dettingen and Aſchaffenburg on the road to Hanau; and to the miſtakes already committed, the Engliſh added this of letting them erect thoſe bridges. The twenty ſixth of June, in the middle of the night, the king of England gave orders for his army to decamp without beat of drum, when he ventured upon this precipitate and dangerous, but neceſſary march.

Count Noailles, who encamped along the Maine, was the firſt that perceived it, and immediately ſent word to his father. The marſhal roſe, and ſaw the Engliſh on their march in this dangerous road betwixt a mountain and a river. Upon which he inſtantly orders thirty ſquadrons, compoſed of the king's houſhold, of the dragoons, and huſſars, to advance towards the village of Dettingen, before which the Engliſh were to paſs; and he cauſed four brigades of infantry with that of the French guards to march over two bridges. Theſe troops had particular directions to remain poſted in the village of Dettingen, on this ſide of a hollow way, where they were not perceived by the Engliſh, while the marſhal ſaw every ſtep the enemy took. M. de Valiere, lieutenant general, a perſon who had carried the ſervice of the artillery as far as it could go, held the enemy thus in a defile between two batteries which kept playing upon them from the oppoſite bank. They were to paſs through a hollow way between Dettingen and a little rivulet; the French were not to fall upon them but with undoubted advantage in the ſituation of the ground; ſo that a ſnare was laid for

them

them, and the king of England himſelf was in danger of being taken. In ſhort, this was one of thoſe critical moments which might have put an end to the war.

The marſhal recommended to his nephew, the duke of Grammont, lieutenant general and colonel of the guards, to wait in this poſition, till the enemy fell into his hands. In the mean time he went to reconnoitre a ford, in order to advance ſome more cavalry, and the better to diſcover the ſituation of the enemy. Moſt of the officers ſaid that it would have been better, if he had continued at the head of his army, to inforce his orders and make himſelf obeyed: but had the day proved fortunate, this miſtake would not have been laid to his charge. Be that as it may, he ſent five brigades to take poſſeſſion of the poſt of Aſchaffenburg; ſo that the Engliſh were hemmed in on every ſide.

All theſe meaſures were diſconcerted by one ſingle moment of impatience. The duke of Grammont thought that the enemy's firſt column had paſſed, and that he had only to fall upon a rear-guard, incapable of making any reſiſtance: with this view he made his troops paſs the hollow way. The duke de Chevreuſe repreſented to him the danger of this unſeaſonable courage; and the count de Noailles earneſtly deſired him to wait for his father's return. The duke of Grammont, whoſe motions were now perceived by the Engliſh, thought he ought not to turn back: he therefore quitted the advantageous ſituation, where he ſhould have remained, and advanced with the regiment of guards and Noailles's regiment of foot into a ſmall plain

called

called the cock-pit. The Engliſh who were filing off in order of battle, ſoon formed: their whole army conſiſted of fifty thouſand men; to oppoſe whom there were only thirty ſquadrons, and five brigades of infantry. By this ſtep, the French who had laid a ſnare for the enemy, fell into it themſelves; they attacked the Engliſh in great diſorder, and with unequal forces. The batteries which M. de Valiere had erected along the Maine, raked the enemy in flank, and eſpecially the Hanoverians; but theſe had their batteries alſo, which fired againſt the front of the French troops. The advantage of cannon, ſo conſiderable a thing in an engagement, did not laſt long; for the artillery on the banks of the Maine was ſoon prevented from firing, becauſe in the confuſion it muſt have annoyed the French themſelves. The Marſhal returned at the very moment this miſtake had been committed; but it was too late to remedy it, and all he had now to depend upon was the ardor and bravery of the troops.

At the very firſt onſet the king's houſhold troops and the carabiniers broke through two whole lines of the enemy's cavalry; but thoſe lines immediately cloſed and ſurrounded the French. The officers of the regiment of guards marched on boldly at the head of a very inconſiderable body of infantry; one and twenty of thoſe officers were killed upon the ſpot, as many dangerouſly wounded, and the regiment of guards was entirely routed.

The duke of Chartres, the prince of Clermont, the Count d'Eu, the duke de Penthievre, notwithſtanding his great youth, exerted all their endeavours to put a ſtop to the diſorder. Count Noailles

ailles had two horſes killed under him; and his brother the duke d'Ayen was thrown to the ground.

The marquis of Puiſegur ſon of the marſhal of that name, ſpoke to the ſoldiers of his regiment, ran after them, rallied all he could, and with his own hand killed ſome who would not fight any longer, but cried out *ſave himſelf who can.* The princes and dukes of Biron, Luxemburg, Bouffiers, Chevreuſe, Pequigny, put themſelves at the head of the brigades they met with, and plunged into the enemy's lines.

On the other hand the king's houſhold troops and the carabiniers were not diſmayed: here one might ſee a company of guards and two hundred muſketeers; there a few troops of cavalry advancing with the light horſe; with others following the carabiniers or horſe grenadiers, and riding full gallop upon the Engliſh with more bravery than diſcipline. And indeed there was ſo little order obſerved, that about fifty muſketeers tranſported by their courage, forced their way through a regiment of horſe called the *Scotch Greys*, a corps renowned in England, and compoſed of all picked men extremely well mounted. We may imagine what could fifty young men do, mounted on midling horſes againſt a body ſo ſuperior in number. They were almoſt all killed, wounded or taken priſoners; the marquis of Fenelon's ſon was taken in the very laſt rank of the regiment of *Greys*. Seven and twenty officers of the king's houſhold troops periſhed in this engagement, and ſixty ſix were dangerouſly wounded. The count d'Eu, count d'Harcourt,

court, count de Biron, and the duke of Boufflers were wounded. The count de la Motte-Houdancourt, firſt gentleman uſher to the queen, had his horſe killed under him, was a long time trod under foot by the horſes, and carried off almoſt dead. The marquis de Gontaud had his arm broken; the duke de Rochechouart, firſt lord of the chamber, having been twice wounded, and ſtill continuing to fight, was killed on the ſpot. The marquiſſes de Sabran and de Fleury, the count d'Eſtrade, and the count de Roſtaing, were among the number of the ſlain.

Amidſt all the ſingularities of this fatal day we ought not to omit the death of a count of Boufflers, of the branch of Remiencourt. This was only a child of ten years and a half old, whoſe leg was ſhattered by a cannon ball; he received the wound, ſaw his leg cut off, and died with equal undauntedneſs. So much youth with ſo much courage drew tears from all the ſpectators.

The loſs was very near as great among the Engliſh officers. The king of England fought on foot and on horſeback, ſometimes at the head of his cavalry, and ſometimes at the head of his infantry. The duke of Cumberland was wounded in the leg; the duke of Aremberg, who commanded the Auſtrians, was wounded by a muſket ball on the upper part of his breaſt; and the Engliſh loſt ſome general officers. The battle laſted three hours: but the terms were very unequal; courage alone was engaged againſt valour, number, and diſcipline. At length marſhal Noailles ordered a retreat, which was accordingly made,

made, though not without ſome confuſion. The king of England dined on the field of battle, from whence he afterwards retired without giving time to his troops to carry off all his wounded; about ſix hundred of them were left behind, whom my lord Stairs recommended to the generoſity of marſhal Noailles. The French treated them as their own countrymen. Theſe two nations behaved to each other with humanity and reſpect; whereas the Hungarians, a leſs civilized people, had ſhewn, during the whole courſe of this war, a ſpirit of barbarity and rapine.

Letters paſſed between the two generals, which are a convincing proof how far politeneſs and humanity may be carried amidſt the horrors of war. My lord Stairs wrote from Hanau to the marſhal, the 30th of June, theſe very words: *I have ſent back all the French priſoners that I had any knowledge of, and have given orders that thoſe who are in the hands of the Hanoverians ſhall be releaſed. Give me leave to return you my thanks for your generous behaviour, which is entirely agreeable to the ſentiments I have always profeſſed to entertain for the duke of Noailles. I am obliged to you, Sir, for the care you have ſo generouſly taken of our wounded.*

This greatneſs of mind was not particular to the earl of Stairs and the duke of Noailles: the duke of Cumberland did alſo an act of generoſity which deſerves to be tranſmitted to poſterity. A muſketeer, named Girardeau, who had been dangerouſly wounded, was brought near the duke's tent: they wanted ſurgeons, and thoſe they had were extremely buſy; at this very inſtant they were going

ing to dreſs the duke who had been wounded in the calf of his leg by a muſket bell. *Begin*, ſaid the prince, *with dreſſing that French officer's wound; he is more hurt than I; perhaps he may want aſſiſtance, which cannot be my caſe.* In other reſpects the loſs was pretty equal in both armies. On the ſide of the allies there were two thouſand two hundred and thirty one killed and wounded. This was the calculation given by the Engliſh, who ſeldom diminiſh their own loſs, or exaggerate that of their enemy.

This battle was very like that of Czaſlau in Bohemia, or of Campo Santo in Italy. Both ſides ſhewed great bravery; there was a great deal of blood ſpilt; and neither reaped any advantage. The French loſt a great deal in fruſtrating one of the beſt diſpoſitions that ever was made, by their precipitate ardour and want of diſcipline, which formerly made them loſe the battles of Poitiers and Creci. The king of England gained great honour; but all the advantage he acquired was precipitately to quit the field of battle in order to ſeek proviſions at Hanau. The writer of this hiſtory having met my lord Stairs ſome weeks after the battle, took the liberty to aſk him what he thought of the affair of Dettingen; *I think*, ſaid this general, *that you committed one miſtake, and we two; yours was the paſſing the hollow way, and not having patience to wait; ours was firſt expoſing ourſelves to deſtruction, and then not making a proper uſe of our victory.*

None had greater reaſon to complain than marſhal Noailles. He ſaw himſelf robbed of the

glory

glory of this day, which perhaps would have put an end to the war, by an inconſiderate ardour; and yet he complained of no body; he accuſed no body. His friendſhip for his nephew prevailed over the care of his own juſtification: he contented himſelf with writing a wiſe, eloquent, and inſtructive letter to the king, wherein he repreſented the extreme neceſſity of reeſtabliſhing the military diſcipline.

After this engagement, a great many French and Engliſh officers went to Frankfort, a neutral city, where the emperor was then retired, and where he ſaw my lord Stairs and marſhal Noailles, one after the other, without being able to expreſs any other ſentiments to them than thoſe of extreme patience under his misfortunes.

The precipitate retreat which marſhal Broglio was making at the ſame time from the frontiers of Bavaria, was yet more fatal to the emperor than the loſs of the battle at Dettingen. This general had been long diſſatisfied with marſhal Seckendorf, who commanded the Bavarians; and he had always declared, even before the campaign, that he was not able to keep Bavaria. He ſet out from thence towards the end of June, juſt when the emperor, finding himſelf no longer in ſafety at Augſburg, was retired to Frankfort, where he arrived the evening of the 27th, the very day the battle was fought.

Marſhal Noailles found the emperor terribly vexed at Broglio's retreat, and, to complete his misfortunes, deſtitute of means of ſupporting his family in this Imperial city, where no body would

advance

advance a ſhilling to the head of the empire. The marſhal gave him forty thouſand crowns upon a letter of credit, being very certain that this act would not be diſapproved of by the king his maſter.

Marſhal Broglio, at the time of his retreating, left the emperor in poſſeſſion of Straubing, of Ingolſtadt on the Danube, and of Egra on the Eger, upon the borders of the upper Palatinate, which were all three blocked up. There were likewiſe ſome Bavarian troops in Braunaw, which the Auſtrians, maſters of all the adjacent country *, had for a long time neglected to beſiege in form; but it ſoon capitulated. Straubing, which had a garriſon of twelve hundred men, quickly followed this example. Theſe twelve hundred men were conducted to the main army, which was abandoning Bavaria and marching towards the Neckar. Here they arrived at length, but diminiſhed at leaſt by five and twenty thouſand, of whom they had been deprived by deſertions, and eſpecially by ſickneſs, more than by the enemy's ſword.

The point was now no longer, to put the emperor Charles VII. in poſſeſſion of Vienna or Prague: they were obliged to come back, in order to defend the frontiers of France againſt two armies; one commanded by prince Charles, the other by the king of England; and both victorious. In three campaigns the French had ſent above a hundred and twenty thouſand men into Bavaria and Bohemia, to the emperor's aſſiſtance. Of all theſe troops marſhal Broglio brought back about

* July 4.

thirty thouſand. The emperor, in the utmoſt deſpair, inſiſted on the king's ſending Broglio into baniſhment; and the king thought this ſatisfaction due to that prince's complaints, and this weak and uſeleſs conſolation to his misfortunes.

So many repeated attempts having all proved ineffectual in this grand enterprize, one would think there muſt have been ſome radical defect which rendered them all abortive. Perhaps this radical defect proceeded from this, that as the Bavarian emperor had no ſtrong towns, nor good troops in his dominions, and as he had only a foreign and ſtrained authority over the French troops, and by his bad ſtate of health was rendered incapable of puſhing on the war vigorouſly againſt an enemy who was every day growing more powerful; all this was of very great prejudice to his affairs. To begin ſuch enterprizes, a perſon ſhould be able to act by himſelf; for never did any prince make a conqueſt of importance, merely by another's aſſiſtance.

CHAP. VII.

Freſh misfortunes of the emperor Charles VII. New treaty againſt his enemies. Lewis XV. ſupports at the ſame time the emperor, don Philip infant of Spain, and prince Charles who attempts to aſcend the throne of his anceſtors in England. Battle of Toulon.

THE emperor continued in Frankfort, in appearance without either allies or foes, or even without ſubjects. For the queen had exacted

an oath of allegiance from all the inhabitants of Bavaria and the upper Palatinate. The Bavarian emperor protested in Frankfort against this oath required of his subjects *. A printer of the town of Stadamhof was hanged in the public market place, for printing this protest made by his sovereign. But their outrages did not stop here: the council of Austria, some time after, caused memorials to be presented, even in the town of Frankfort, to the Imperial diet, in which the election of Charles VII was treated as *null and absolutely void.* The new elector of Mentz, high chancellor of the empire, and who had been raised to this dignity in spite of the emperor, registred these pieces in the protocol of the empire. Charles VII. could only complain, which he did by his rescripts; but to compleat his misery, the king of England, in quality of elector of Hanover, wrote to him, that the queen of Hungary and the elector of Mentz were in the right. In fine, they talked of obliging him to resign the Imperial crown to the duke of Tuscany.

In the mean time the emperor having declared himself neuter, while they were stripping him of his dominions, the king of France, who had taken up arms upon his account, had much more reason to declare that he would not any longer concern himself in the affairs of the empire. This is what he solemnly did by his ministers at Ratisbon, so early as the 26th of July. At any other time such a disposition might have produced a general peace; but England and Austria wanted to improve their

* August 22, 1743.

advantage. Theſe powers pretended to oblige the emperor to deſire that the grand duke his enemy ſhould be king of the Romans; and they flattered themſelves with the hopes of penetrating into Alſace and Lorrain. In this manner was an offenſive war, which firſt began at the gates of Vienna, turned into a defenſive one on the banks of the Rhine.

Prince Charles of Lorrain had made a lodgement the fourth of Auguſt, in an iſle of this river, near old Briſac: on the other ſide different parties of Huſſars had penetrated beyond the Sarre, and attacked the frontiers of Lorrain. This ſame Mentzel, who was the firſt that took Munich, had the inſolence to ſpread, under the name of declaration or manifeſto, a writing, addreſſed the twentieth of Auguſt to the provinces of Alſace, Burgundy, Franche-Comté, and the three biſhoprics; wherein he invited the people, in the name of the queen of Hungary, to return, if I may uſe his terms, to their allegiance to the houſe of Auſtria; he likewiſe threatned ſuch of the inhabitants as ſhould take up arms againſt that houſe, to hang them without mercy, after firſt obliging them to cut off their noſes and ears with their own hands. Such brutal ferocity excited nothing but contempt; the frontiers were well guarded; and a detachment of prince Charles's army having paſſed the Rhine, were cut in pieces, the fourth of Auguſt, by count Berenger.

The army under marſhal Noailles encamped in the neighbourhood of Spire, at the end of July. Count Maurice of Saxony was in upper Alſace with the remains of Broglio's army, and ſome troops

drawn

drawn from the frontier towns. The duke of Harcourt commanded on the Moſelle, and the marquis of Montal guarded Lorrain. To defend theſe frontiers was not enough; an open war was foreſeen with the king of England, and likewiſe with the king of Sardinia, who had not indeed as yet concluded a definitive treaty with the court of Vienna, yet was as cloſely united with that court, as if ſuch a treaty had been ſigned.

France then deſerted by Pruſſia, Lewis XV. was juſt in the ſame caſe as his great grandfather, united with Spain againſt the forces of a new houſe of Auſtria, of England, Holland, and Savoy. To oppoſe ſuch a confederacy, he ordered ſeveral men of war to be built and fitted out at Breſt, he increaſed his land forces, and ſent about twelve thouſand men to the aſſiſtance of don Philip; a very inconſiderable ſuccour in compariſon to the troops which he had laviſhed away upon the Bavarian emperor; but of more real ſervice, becauſe it was to aſſiſt a younger prince who expected his eſtabliſhment from the forces of Spain. The king, not content with aiding his allies, and protecting his frontiers, wanted to put himſelf at the head of his army in Alſace, and had prepared his field equipages for that purpoſe. He acquainted marſhal Noailles with his deſign, who anſwered him in theſe very words: *Your affairs are neither in ſo proſperous nor ſo declining a way as to juſtify your majeſty's taking this ſtep.* He alledged ſeveral other arguments, which ſatisfied the king, who was determined however to make the next campaign.

Of the various conquefts which France had made in favour of the emperor, there remained now only Egra in Bohemia, and Ingolftadt on the Danube in Bavaria.

The extremities to which the French were reduced in Egra, were become more fevere than thofe which they had fuffered at Prague. They had hardly tafted any bread for above eight months; and the foldiers that ventured out to gather a little pulfe in the country, were fure to be killed by the Pandours. They had neither provifions, nor money, nor hopes of fuccour. The marquis of Herouville, who commanded in the town, with fix battalions, caufed fome obfidional money to be coined, the ufe of which began firft at the fiege of Pavia under Francis I: that which they coined at Egra was half fous of pewter. This metal however might fupply the want of filver, but could not remedy that of provifions. It is true the marquis of Défaleurs fent from Saxony a convoy of provifions to Egra, but they fell into the hands of the befiegers; fo that the French * were at length obliged to furrender themfelves prifoners of war. The officers and foldiers were difperfed in different parts of Bohemia and Auftria, where they found a great many of their countrymen. They were above nine thoufand in all, who had been taken in the courfe of three years: they were very cruelly ufed; the fpirit of revenge combining with the rigour of war, and the antient antipathy of the two nations.

Thofe who defended Ingolftadt met with a better

* 6th of Sept. 1743.

fate.

fate. M. de Grandville, who commanded the garriſon of that fortreſs, conſiſting of about three thouſand men, not only obtained a free retreat, but likewiſe inſiſted that general Bernklau, who beſieged the town, ſhould give the French who were ſcattered in the parts of Bavaria under his command, free liberty to return to their own country †. This is the firſt inſtance of a garriſon capitulating for the liberty of other troops.

In the mean time neither prince Charles, nor the king of England, made any progreſs againſt the French upon the Rhine; and the remainder of this campaign juſtified what marſhal Noailles had wrote to the king, that his affairs were neither in an advantageous, nor in a deſperate condition.

The contending powers were all fluctuating betwixt hope and fear; every one of them had loſſes and misfortunes to repair. Naples and Sicily were afflicted with the ſcourge of peſtilence, and preparing for that of war; they had moreover ſome reaſon to be afraid of conſpiracies in favour of the houſe of Auſtria. The king of Naples having increaſed his army to the number of about twenty ſix thouſand men, employed twelve thouſand of them in guarding the frontiers of Calabria againſt the contagion, by forming a chain of a vaſt extent; the remainder of his army, on the frontiers of Abruzzo, waited for a favourable conjuncture to act in concert with the Spaniſh army of the king his father, at that time commanded by the duke of Modena and count Gages. The city of Naples was put into a poſture of defence, and no longer had any

† 5. Oct. 1743.

occaſion to be afraid of the inſulting orders of an Engliſh commodore. Don Philip was in Savoy, waiting for an opportunity, either of coming to an agreement with the king of Sardinia, or of being able to overcome him with the aſſiſtance of France. The king of Sardinia having balanced the danger and advantage on both ſides, thought it his intereſt at length to enter into a cloſer connexion with Auſtria and England againſt the houſe of Bourbon. It was now above a year ſince he had joined his forces to the queen of Hungary's; for he was not as yet her ally: but at length he entered into an expreſs and effectual alliance at Worms, the 13th of September 1743, an alliance in a great meaſure owing to the bad ſucceſs of the French arms in Germany.

This prince had gained the Tortoneſe, the Valais, a part of the Novareſe, and the territorial ſuperiority of the fiefs of Langhes, by fighting againſt Mary Tereſa's father; and now he acquired the Vigevanaſco, the remainder of the Novareſe, with the duchy of Parma and Placentia, by declaring in favour of the daughter. The Engliſh, who had already given him ſome ſubſidies, by the preſent treaty engaged to grant him two hundred thouſand pounds ſterling a year. He was then at the head of an army of thirty thouſand men; and the Engliſh fleet under the command of admiral Matthews, was cruizing on the coaſt, in order to favour his deſigns. But he loſt the fruit of his preſent advantage; and the event afterwards proved, that this ancient maxim, *a moiety is worth more than the whole*, is oftentimes true.

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By this treaty the queen of Hungary reſigned the marquiſate of Final to him, though it was neither his nor her property. It belonged to the Genoeſe, who had bought it for two hundred thouſand crowns of the late emperor Charles VI. Neither was there any proper care taken to reimburſe them this money; for though the king of Sardinia offered them thoſe two hundred thouſand crowns, yet he demanded at the ſame time that they ſhould rebuild the caſtle they had demoliſhed, which would have coſt them more than the money he offered. This liberality of other people's property gained France another ally. Genoa was already in the French intereſt in ſecret; but now it entered into a cloſer connexion with that nation. Its harbour might be of very great ſervice; and the Engliſh fleet could not always lie before it. In ſhort the king of Sardinia abſolutely obliged the Genoeſe to become his declared enemies. And paved the way for a very dangerous diverſion againſt himſelf: for this very time don Philip having once more taken poſſeſſion of Savoy, on the eighteenth of September 1742, was preparing to paſs the Alps; and the Spaniſh and Neapolitan armies might join in the territory of Bologna, or even in Lombardy.

The fortune of war was therefore to decide, whether the two brothers, don Carlos king of Sicily, and the infant don Philip, ſhould penetrate to the middle of Italy; or whether the king of Sardinia, on the one ſide, ſhould guard the paſſage of the Alps, and on the other the queen of Hungary ſhould be able to take poſſeſſion of the king-

dom of Naples, notwithſtanding the neutrality ſtill obſerved by her and by don Carlos.

In the mean time England and Auſtria depended on attacking the French in Alſace and Flanders early in the ſpring, and preparations were making on all ſides for renewing the fierceſt hoſtilities: yet there was no declared rupture at this time, except between England and Spain, in regard to the American commerce; a rupture which ſeemed to have no relation, though it had indeed a very eſſential one, to the intereſts which divided Europe.

The emperor Charles VII. ſtripped of all his territories, ſeemed to have no reſource at all left, while Lewis XV. was ſtill making preparations to aſſiſt him: and the king of Pruſſia, notwithſtanding the treaty of Breſlaw, and a defenſive alliance betwixt him and the king of England *, was ſo much the more in the emperor's intereſt, as he could no longer doubt of the deſign which the court of Vienna had formed, of recovering Sileſia the firſt opportunity. The courts of France and Pruſſia began then to unite once more for the common cauſe, and for the intereſts of the emperor, who ſeemed to have been quite abandoned by fortune and by all the world.

In the beginning of 1744, the king of France took the reſolution of declaring war againſt the king of England and the queen of Hungary. He had no longer any meaſures to keep, either with the Engliſh, who continually inſulted his ſhips; or with Auſtria, who threatened to remove the ſeat of war into France, and who, notwithſtanding a

* Concluded the 18th of November 1742.

cartel

cartel ſettled in 1741, refuſed to return any of the French priſoners. The firſt fruit of this revolution was a ſecret and hardy enterprize, the ſucceſs of which might ſuddenly produce a great revolution in one part of Europe.

The family of Stuart, which for the ſpace of fifty four years, had lived in a melancholy exile, far from the kingdoms of which it had been ſtripped, had ſtill a great many ſecret adherents in Scotland and Ireland, and even ſome few in England. Prince Charles Edward, grandſon of James II. king of England, and ſon of the unfortunate prince, ſo well known in Europe by the name of the *Pretender*, was now in the flower of his youth, and had ſhewn marks of the moſt reſolute courage, heightened by the reſentment of his condition. Several times had he been heard to ſay, that his head muſt either fall off, or be crowned. France, which had been a long time the aſylum of his family, found herſelf now obliged to ſupport his cauſe: and Lewis XV. might probably, in his firſt campaign, reſtore the emperor to his dominions, and the heir of the houſe of Stuart to the throne of Great Britain. The young prince Edward ſet out from Rome the 9th of January 1744; and even in conducting his expedition acted with all the ſecrecy and diligence of a perſon born for great enterprizes. He concealed his journey from a brother whom he tenderly loved, and who would not have conſented to let him go by himſelf. The thirteenth he arrived at Genoa, in the diſguiſe of a Spaniſh courier; where, attend-

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ed by a ſingle domeſtic, he embarked the next day for Antibes, and ſoon arrived at Paris.

The ſame ſecrecy was obſerved in France in carrying on the neceſſary preparatives for conveying the prince to the coaſt of Great Britain. The king had made an effort which England little expected, conſidering the condition in which the French navy had been for many years. He had equipped with incredible diligence at Rochefort and Breſt ſix and twenty men of war; and a report was ordered to be ſpread that this ſquadron was intended to join the Spaniſh fleet which had lain at Toulon theſe two years, where it was blocked up by the Engliſh fleet under the command of admiral Matthews.

In the mean time twenty ſhips of war, under the command of M. de Roquefeuille, with arms. ammunition, and four thouſand land men on board, ſet ſail from Breſt, and arrived between the iſles of Uſhant and the Sorlingues, where they were joined by five more ſail from the port of Rochefort, under the command of M. du Barail.

From thence the fleet entered the Britiſh channel, and divided into three ſquadrons. The ſtrongeſt, which conſiſted of fourteen ſhips, ſailed with a fair wind towards the Kentiſh coaſt; the ſecond took its ſtation between Calais and Boulogne; and the third advanced towards Dunkirk. Count Saxe was to have commanded that expedition: the firſt of March * he went on board at Dunkirk with

* 1744.

nine

nine battalions, the count de Chaila embarked the next day with ſix.

Prince Edward was on board the ſame ſhip with count Saxe, when for the firſt time he beheld the coaſt of England. But a ſudden ſtorm aroſe, which threw the tranſport ſhips on the French ſhore, where a great many ſoldiers were drowned attempting to get to land. The young prince was ſtill impatient to try the paſſage with a ſingle veſſel; he flattered himſelf that his courage and reſolution would raiſe him ſubjects, as ſoon as he ſet foot on the Britiſh ſhore: but neither the ſea, nor the diſpoſitions which they had time to make on the coaſt of England, would ſuffer him to put this hazardous deſign into execution.

They had received intelligence at London ſo early as the 15th of February of this expedition. The Dutch, in alliance with king George, had already ſent him two thouſand men, and were to furniſh him with ſix thouſand, according to the treaty of 1716. The Engliſh had a formidable fleet in the Downs, which form one continued harbour on the coaſt of Kent, where the ſhips are ſheltered from tempeſts; and beſides, the militia were armed. Thus miſcarried an enterprize, conducted with more art than any plot had ever yet been in England; for king George knew indeed there had been a conſpiracy, but could never diſcover the authors of it. From the perſons who were taken up in London, the government got no inſight into the matter; ſo that they continued as before in perplexity and miſtruſt.

Circumſtances were extremely favourable for

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ſuch an enterprize. The Engliſh troops were abroad, quartered in different parts of the Auſtrian Netherlands. There was likewiſe another advantage attending this enterprize; it employed the Engliſh fleet, part of which might have been ſent to reinforce admiral Matthews: and the ſcheme was to fight this admiral with the men of war which France had left in the Mediterranean, joined to thoſe of Spain, which were to come out of the harbour of Toulon, at the very time that prince Edward was to land in Great Britain.

There was at that time in Toulon a fleet of ſixteen Spaniſh men of war, which was at firſt deſigned to eſcort don Philip to Italy, but theſe two years had been blocked up in that harbour, by admiral Matthews's fleet, which lorded it in the Mediterranean, and inſulted the whole coaſt of Italy and Provence. The Spaniſh gunners were not very expert in their art; for which reaſon they were exerciſed four months continually in firing at a point blank mark, and prizes were propoſed to excite their induſtry and emulation.

As ſoon as they were become expert in their art, the Spaniſh ſquadron, commanded by don Joſeph Navarro, unmoored, and got out of Toulon road. This ſquadron conſiſted only of twelve ſail, the Spaniards not having a ſufficient number of ſeamen and gunners to man the ſixteen. They were immediately joined by fourteen French ſhips, four frigates, and three fire ſhips, under the command of M. de Court, who, at the age of fourſcore, had all the vigour of body and mind that ſuch a command required. Forty years were elapſed ſince he

had

had been at a ſea-fight off Malaga, where he ſerved as captain on board the admiral's ſhip; and from that time there had been no naval engagement in any part of the world except that of Meſſina in 1718. Admiral Matthews got under ſail to meet the combined ſquadrons of France and Spain. It is proper here to obſerve, that the degree of admiral in England does not anſwer to the dignity of admiral in France; and that there are three Engliſh admirals, each of whom commands a ſeparate diviſion of men of war, under the command of the lord high admiral, or of the board of admiralty.

Matthews's fleet conſiſted of forty five ſail, five frigates and four fireſhips: with the advantage of number, he had alſo that of the wind, a circumſtance on which the ſucceſs of ſea engagements oftentimes depends, as on land it depends on an advantageous ſituation. The Engliſh are the firſt who drew up their naval forces in the order of battle obſerved at preſent; and it is of them that other nations have learnt to divide their fleets into the van, the rear, and the center. It muſt not be imagined, however, that theſe diviſions are in three lines, they are only in one. The van is to the right, the rear to the left, and the center in the middle, ſo that the ſhips never preſent more than one ſide.

In this order therefore did they fight in the battle off Toulon. The change of wind put the Spaniards in the rear. Admiral Matthews ſtill availing himſelf of the advantage of the wind, fell upon them with his diviſion. In an engagement the

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ſhips ſhould never be above ſixty fathoms from each other; where there is only this diſtance, they are as cloſe as they ought to be, and there is never any reaſon to fear that a ſingle ſhip ſhall be attacked by many; but it is very difficult for a whole fleet to govern itſelf in ſuch a manner as always to preſerve this diſtance. The Spaniſh ſhips were ſeparated too wide from each other. At the very beginning of the engagement two of their men of war were diſabled by the enemy's cannon; and admiral Matthews had an opportunity of bearing down upon the Spaniſh admiral with ſeveral of his ſhips. The veſſel, on board of which don Navarro had hoiſted his flag, was called the Real; it mounted one hundred and ten pieces of cannon, and had about a thouſand men. It was ſo ſtrong built, that the planks with the ribs, were about three feet thick, ſo that in thoſe parts it was impenetrable to a cannon ball. It is proper alſo to know, that the Engliſh fire more at the rigging than at the hulls of the enemy's ſhips, chuſing rather to diſable and take, than to ſink them to the bottom. The Spaniſh admiral was attacked at the ſame time by the Engliſh admiral, and by four other ſhips of the line, which all together made a prodigious fire. Matthews depended on making an eaſy capture of her, truſting to his practice in naval affairs, and the inexperience of the Spaniards: and what doubled his hopes, was Navarro's being a land officer. Each Spaniſh ſhip was thus attacked by more than one Engliſh, and of courſe was expected to be overpowered. Every body on deck,

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in the royal Philip, was either killed or wounded. The captain of the flag ſhip received a mortal wound. Don Navarro was wounded in two places, and obliged to go under deck.

A French officer, in the ſervice of Spain, named the chevalier de Lage, ſecond captain of the admiral's flag ſhip, maintained the engagement againſt five Engliſh ſail. Admiral Matthews was ſurpriſed at the quickneſs with which the lower tier of the Spaniſh admiral fired from every ſide, and annoyed every ſhip within her reach: at length he ſends a fireſhip againſt her. Theſe are veſſels loaded with gunpowder, granadoes, and other combuſtible matter, which faſten themſelves to the enemy's ſhips with grappling irons. At the inſtant they have grappled another veſſel, they give fire to the train. The crew in a hurry take to their boat, and the captain enters it the laſt. In the mean time the veſſel being ſet on flames is deſtroyed in an inſtant by the exploſion of the powder, and blows up into the air, together with the veſſel to which it is faſtened.

This engine of deſtruction was within fifteen paces of the royal Philip, when ſome of the officers propoſed ſtriking. M. de Lage anſwered, *You have then forgot that I am here.* Upon which he brings three or four guns to bear, and aims them ſo ſure, that every one takes place, and the fireſhip is juſt ready to ſink. The captain perceiving that he muſt inevitably periſh, reſolves at leaſt to die revenged. He orders his men to give fire to the train, hoping ſtill to be able to grapple the Real, and to blow up together in the air; but

he had not time. His veſſel takes fire, and flies into a thouſand ſhatters, within ſeven or eight feet of the Spaniſh admiral, whoſe deck is all covered with them. M. de Lage ſaid, that he ſaw the body of an Engliſh captain, and ſome ſailors, reduced in an inſtant to a coal, not above two feet long, and as light as cork; and yet with this violent exploſion, the Real was not at all hurt.

Monſieur de Court, who had hoiſted his flag on board the Terrible, in the center of battle, was engaged ſingle againſt three ſhips within piſtol ſhot. He did a great deal of miſchief to the enemy; and getting clear of them, at length he came up to the aſſiſtance of the royal Philip, and of the Spaniſh ſquadron. The Engliſh all this time had been able to take only one ſingle Spaniſh ſhip, named the Poder, which was entirely diſmaſted. They had already ſent ſome of their hands to navigate this veſſel, and four hundred Spaniards on board had been obliged to ſurrender. Admiral Matthews's diviſion was then retiring, and the Engliſh in the Poder, buſy in taking care of their prize, were made priſoners themſelves. The ſuperiority of number was of no ſervice to the Engliſh; for the rear, commanded by vice-admiral Leſtock, was four miles diſtant: whether the vice-admiral, through pique againſt Matthews, wanted to deprive him of the glory of this day; or whether admiral Matthews, on the other hand, did not chuſe that Leſtock ſhould ſhare the glory with him. At length a weſt wind riſing towards night the different fleets were obliged to obey its call,

and

and each to go and repair the damage they had ſuſtained. The Engliſh retired to Port Mahon, the French to Carthagena, and the Spaniards to Barcelona.

This action of Toulon proved a drawn battle, as almoſt all naval engagements commonly are, (excepting that of the Hogue) where the whole fruit of vaſt preparations, and obſtinate fighting, is to kill a great number of men on both ſides, and to ſhoot the maſts of the ſhips by the board. Each ſide complained; the Spaniards thought they were not properly ſupported by the French, and the latter charged the former with being ungrateful. Theſe two nations, tho' allies at preſent, had not been always ſo: the ancient antipathy uſed ſometimes to riſe in the breaſts of the Spaniards, notwithſtanding the friendſhip between the two kings. On the other hand, Matthews accuſed his vice-admiral to the government, and ſent him back to London to be tried. The latter accuſed Matthews in his turn; and preparations were made in London to bring them both to their trial. The French commander did juſtice publickly to the Engliſh admiral, who alſo juſtified M. de Court. If it was cruel to be accuſed by the very friends for whom they fought; it was on the other hand glorious to be acquitted by the enemy. And yet to ſatisfy the Spaniards, the French commander was baniſhed for ſome months to his country-houſe, within two leagues of Paris. The Engliſh admiral was brought in guilty upon his trial, which laſted a long time: he was declared incapable of ſerving any more, by a council of war, which in

England they call a *court martial*. The cuſtom of judging ſeverely, and of ſtigmatizing unſucceſsful generals, had been lately communicated from Turky to the ſtates of Chriſtendom. The emperor Charles VI. ſet two examples of this ſeverity, in his laſt war againſt the Turks, a war which was looked upon in all parts of Europe, to have been worſe conducted in the cabinet, than in the field. The Swedes ſince that time condemned two of their generals to death, whoſe fate all Europe lamented; by this ſeverity their government acquired neither more reſpect abroad nor more happineſs at home. The importance of this ſubject merits our dwelling a little upon it.

The French government, directed by principles of lenity, is ſatisfied with inflicting only a ſlight diſgrace on occaſions, when other ſtates would put their general officers in irons, or bring them to the ſcaffold. To me it ſeems, that juſtice, and even good policy require that the honour and life of a general ſhould not depend on bad ſucceſs. It is very certain that a general does whatever lies in his power unleſs he be a traitor or a rebel; and that there is very little juſtice in inflicting a cruel puniſhment upon a man, who has done all that his abilities would permit: perhaps it is not even good policy to introduce the practice of proſecuting an unſucceſsful general; for by that means thoſe who begin a campaign very unfortunately in the ſervice of their prince, might be tempted to go and finiſh it in the ſervice of the enemy.

France and Spain, however, had the real ad-

vantage

vantage of this battle; the ſea was open at leaſt for ſome time, and the proviſions which don Philip wanted, were eaſily ſent him from the coaſt of Provence. But neither the French nor Spaniſh fleets could oppoſe admiral Matthews when he came back to this coaſt, after he had refitted his ſhips. France and Spain being continually obliged to keep large ſtanding armies on foot, have not that inexhauſtible fund of ſeamen, which is the great reſource of the power of Great Britain. On this occaſion it plainly appeared of what importance it was to the Engliſh to have kept poſſeſſion of the iſle of Minorca, and how prejudicial it was to the Spaniards to have loſt it. Melancholy indeed was it to think, that theſe ocean iſlanders ſhould have deprived the Spaniſh monarchy of a harbour ſtill more uſeful than Gibraltar; a harbour which by its convenient ſituation enabled them to diſturb Spain, Italy, and the ſouthern coaſt of France. The Spaniards had ports in Africa, in ſpite of the Moors, and yet could not hinder the Engliſh from having ports in Spain.

The END of the FIRST PART.

THE HISTORY OF THE WAR of 1741.

PART II.

CHAP. I.

The prince of Conti forces the paſſage of the Alps. Situation of affairs in Italy.

IN the midſt of all theſe ſtruggles, Lewis XV. declared war againſt king George *, and ſoon after againſt the queen of Hungary †, who declared it alſo againſt him in form; but on both ſides it was no more than the addition of a ceremony: Spain and Naples made war without declaring it.

Don Philip, at the head of twenty thouſand Spaniards, under the command of the marquis de la Mina; and prince Conti, with twenty thouſand French, both inſpired their troops with that confi-

* 15th March 1744. † 26th April.

dence and reſolution which are requiſite for penetrating into a country, where a ſingle battalion may ſtop a whole army, where every moment you are obliged to fight among rocks and torrents, and where every other obſtacle is heightened by the difficulty of convoys. The prince of Conti, who had ſerved as a lieutenant general in the unfortunate war of Bavaria, young as he was, had acquired experience, and underſtood the conſequence of thoſe diſappointments to which an army is expoſed almoſt every campaign. He had not as yet ſeen a campaign in Italy, where war is carried on in a quite different way from what is practiſed in champaign countries: but he had prepared himſelf for this expedition by a conſtant application of ten hours a day, during the winter which he had ſpent at Paris. He could tell even the ſmalleſt rocks, and perfectly knew what had been performed under marſhal Catinat and the duke of Vendome, as if he had been preſent himſelf.

The firſt of April the infant don Philip and prince Conti paſſed the Var, a river which deſcends from the Alps and empties itſelf into the ſea of Genoa below Nice. The whole country of that name ſurrendered: but, to advance any farther, they were under a neceſſity of attacking the intrenchments near Villafranca, and thoſe of the fortreſs of Montalban in the midſt of rocks which form a long chain of almoſt inacceſſible ramparts. There was no poſſibility of marching but through narrow defiles, and over frightful precipices, expoſed to the enemy's artillery. Under this fire they were obliged to climb up from rock to rock.

Even on the Alps they had the Engliſh to encounter: admiral Matthews, after having careened his ſhips, was returned to aſſume the empire of the ſeas: he landed with ſome of his men at Villafranca, who joined the Piedmonteſe; and his gunners ſerved the artillery. But the prince of Conti concerted his meaſures ſo well, and his troops were ſo greatly animated, that theſe obſtacles were all ſurmounted. The marquis de Biſſy at the head of the French, and the marquis of Campo Santo at the head of the Spaniards, ſoon made themſelves maſters of the enemy's batteries which flanked the paſſage of Villafranca. M. de Mirepoix and M. d'Argouges opened themſelves another way. They made four falſe attacks where they had no intention to penetrate: but M. de Biſſy made two ſuch briſk aſſaults againſt thoſe places which he intended to carry; every thing was ſo well concerted, ſo quick, and ſo vigorouſly puſhed; M. d'Argouges at the head of the regiments of Languedoc and of the iſle of France, and M. du Barrail with his regiment, made ſuch prodigious efforts, that this rampart of Piedmont, above two hundred fathoms high, which the king of Sardinia imagined to be quite out of their reach, was carried by the French and Spaniards *.

On the one ſide M. du Chatel and M. de Caſtelar aſcended through very narrow byways to an eminence called mount Eleus, from whence they drove the Piedmonteſe; on the other ſide the marquis de Biſſy fought for two hours on the top of

* April 19, 1744.

a rock

a rock called Monte Groſſo. When the French and Spaniards had clambered up to the top of the rock, ſeeing they muſt either conquer or die, they treated one another as brothers, they aſſiſted each other with ardour, and with joint forces they battered down the intrenchments of the enemy: this rock was defended by fourteen battalions, who had a ſecure retreat. One hundred and thirty officers of the Piedmonteſe, with ſeventeen hundred men, were taken priſoners; and two thouſand were killed. The marquis de Suze, natural brother of the king of Sardinia, was obliged to ſurrender himſelf priſoner to M. de Biſſy. The top of the mountain, on which the marquis du Chatel had taken poſt, commanded the enemy's entrenchments; ſo that at length they were obliged to fly to Oneglia to the number of three thouſand men, and embark on board admiral Matthews's fleet, who was witneſs of the defeat. The count de Choiſeul brought the king the news of this victory, in which this officer had diſtinguiſhed himſelf *. They advanced from poſt to poſt, from rock to rock; they took the citadel of Villafranca, and the fort of Montalban, where they found above one hundred and forty pieces of cannon, with proviſions in proportion. But all this ended only in ſharing the dominion of the Alps, and in fighting on the top of high mountains.

While they were forcing theſe paſſes for don Philip, he was not yet much nearer the country to which he pretended in Italy. The duke of

* Auguſt 25.

Modena

Modena was alſo as far from retaking the Modeneſe, as the infant from penetrating to Parma and Milan. The Auſtrians and the Piedmonteſe were maſters every where, from the top of the Alps to the frontiers of the kingdom of Naples. The court of Spain had recalled the duke of Montemar; and count Gages, under the duke of Modena, was gathering the remains of the Spaniſh army, which was ſtill retiring before the Auſtrians, who had already laid the province of Abruzzo under contribution. The king of Naples could no longer obſerve an unlucky neutrality, which was greatly abuſed, and would have only contributed to deprive him of his crown. He therefore ſet out from Naples to put himſelf at the head of his army. The queen, who was then pregnant, withdrew to Cajeta the latter end of April 1744; and even ſome mention was made of removing her to Rome, in caſe of any unlucky blow, or of an inſurrection in Naples, with which the Auſtrians affected to frighten him. Such was the viciſſitude of affairs, that the queen of Hungary, who three years before had been obliged to leave Vienna, thought herſelf very near making a conqueſt of the kingdom of Naples. Prince Lobkowitz had a manifeſto ready, copies of which he afterwards ſpread through the kingdom towards the month of June, wherein the queen of Hungary addreſſed herſelf to the inhabitants of the two Sicilies, as to ſubjects to whom ſhe was granting her protection.

England at this time exerted herſelf more than ever in this queen's cauſe; ſhe augmented her ſubſidies, and ſpent upon the war, this year 1744,

two

two hundred and ſeventy four millions, nine hundred and ſixty four thouſand livres French money; an expence which increaſed every year. She maintained a fleet in the Mediterranean, which ruined the whole trade of Provence: the troops that fought at Dettingen ſhe recalled back to Flanders; and theſe joined to the Flemiſh and Dutch regiments formed in the beginning of the campaign an army of above ſixty thouſand men. Prince Charles, with the like number of forces, was coming to attempt once more the paſſage of the Rhine. The emperor, whoſe neutrality was imaginary, while his misfortunes were but too real, preſerved the ſhattered remains of his army under the cannon of the Imperial city of Philipſburgh; and at Francfort waited for his fate, dubious whether he ſhould be maintained in poſſeſſion of the Imperial crown by France, or ſtripped of it by the queen of Hungary.

CHAP. II.

Firſt campaign of Lewis XV. in Flanders. His ſucceſſes, He leaves Flanders to fly to the defence of Alſace, invaded by the Auſtrians, whilſt prince Conti continues to force a paſſage through the Alps. New Alliances. The king of Pruſſia once more takes up arms.

THINGS were thus dangerouſly circumſtanced * when Lewis XV. began his firſt campaign. He had appointed marſhal Coigni to

* 1744.

defend

defend the paſſage of the Rhine with ſixty one battalions and one hundred ſquadrons. The Bavarian troops, conſiſting of near twelve thouſand men, and paid by France, were commanded by count Seckendorff, the very ſame officer on whom at that time they ſo greatly depended. Marſhal Noailles was general of the army in Flanders, which conſiſted of ſixty eight battalions and ninety ſeven ſquadrons complete. Count Saxe was made marſhal of France, and commanded a ſeparate corps, compoſed of thirty two battalions and fifty eight ſquadrons alſo complete: thus the whole French army in Flanders amounted to above eighty thouſand fighting men.

There ſtill remained, on the Rhine and the Moſelle, ſeventy five battalions and one hundred and forty ſix ſquadrons, without reckoning the army in Italy, thirty thouſand militia, the garriſons, the light troops, the Bavarians, the Palatines, and the Heſſians. This ſituation, eſpecially in Flanders, was very different from what it had been the preceding year at the death of cardinal Fleury. The Engliſh might then have attacked the French frontiers with advantage. They came now, when the opportunity was paſt; and the Dutch, having refuſed to engage with them when this enterprize was eaſy, at length engaged when it was become impracticable.

The king choſe rather to make the campaign in Flanders than in Alſace, reckoning that upon the Rhine it would be only a defenſive war; whereas every thing was diſpoſed for making it offenſive in the Auſtrian Netherlands.

As

As it was not known that he had been ready the preceding year to head his army in perſon, ſo it was a long time before the public knew that he was to ſet out for Flanders; with ſuch ſecrecy did he conduct even thoſe things which are generally preceded by a pompous parade. It is natural for a people, who have been governed theſe eight hundred years by the ſame family, to love their king; beſides, he had only one ſon the dauphin, who was not yet married; all theſe circumſtances gave riſe to uncommon movements of zeal and affection, mixed with joy and fear, in the breaſts of the inhabitants of Paris.

The king reviewed his army in the neighbourhood of Lille, and made ſome new regulations for the eſtabliſhing of military diſcipline, a thing difficult to maintain, and at that time greatly wanted. His aid de camps were M. M. de Meuze, de Richelieu, de Luxemburg, de Boufflers, d'Aumont, d'Ayen, de Soubiſe, and de Pequigny. The enemy were commanded by general Wade, an old officer, bred like the earl of Stairs, under the duke of Marlborough, and well acquainted with every part of Flanders, where he had ſerved a great many campaigns; from his experience and abilities the Engliſh had great expectations. The duke of Aremberg, of the houſe of Ligne, governor of Mons, and grand bailiff of Hainault, had the command of the queen of Hungary's troops. This nobleman had ſpent great part of his life at the court of France, where his perſon was extremely liked: his inclination led him to live among the French, and his duty to fight

againſt them. He was a pupil of prince Eugene, had ſerved againſt the Turks and the French, and contributed not a little to the ſucceſs of the battles of Belgrade and Dettingen, having been wounded in both at the head of his troops.

Count Maurice of Naſſaw, who commanded the Dutch, was a deſcendant of the celebrated prince Maurice of Naſſaw, one of the three brothers to whom the United Provinces were indebted for their liberty and grandeur. This prince happening to die, before he could fulfil the promiſe of marriage which he had made to his miſtreſs, Madame de Mechelin; his poſterity were deprived of the honours annexed to his houſe.

Thoſe three generals had it in their power to oppoſe the king's deſigns, had they been united: but the Dutch were temporizing and negotiating. On the one hand they were ſtrongly preſſed by the Engliſh to fulfil the treaty of alliance concluded between them in 1678, by which they are mutually bound to declare war, within the ſpace of two months, againſt any power that ſhould attack either of the two nations: on the other hand they flattered themſelves with keeping the appearances of moderation, even in war itſelf; they were arming againſt the king, and yet were afraid of provoking him. In this dilemma they deputed count Waſſenaar to him, a perſon agreeable to the court of France, where he had been formerly in a public character, and where his frankneſs and complaiſance, with other amiable qualities, had procured him a great many friends. The count uſed the moſt reſpectful and the moſt inſinuating lan-

guage

guage to the king, desiring protection for his person, and peace for Europe.

The king answered: *The choice, Sir, which the States General have made of you, cannot but be agreeable to me, from the knowledge I have of your personal merit. My whole conduct towards your republic, since my accession to the crown, should have convinced her, how desirous I was to maintain a sincere friendship and perfect correspondence with her.*

I have long and sufficiently made known my inclination to peace: but the more I have delayed to declare war, the less shall I suspend its operations. My ministers will give me an account of the commission with which you are charged; and after I have communicated it to my allies, I shall let your masters know my ultimate resolutions.

The eighteenth of May the king made himself master of Courtray, a small town, which had an Austrian garrison. The day following the Dutch ambassador saw him invest Menin, a barrier town, defended by the troops of the republic, to the number of fifteen hundred men.

Menin was far from being a little paltry town, as some journalists are pleased to call it: on the contrary, it was one of the celebrated Vauban's master pieces. He built this fortification with some regret, foreseeing that one day or other we should be obliged to surrender it to strangers, who would enjoy the fruit of French ingenuity.

The king reconnoitred the place several times; he even approached within pistol shot of the palisade, with marshal Noailles, count d'Argenson, and all his court. The trenches were opened the

29th

29th of May. The king encouraged the pioneers by his liberality, ordering a hundred and fifty Louidores to thoſe who worked at the attack towards the gate of Ipres, and a hundred to thoſe who worked towards the gate of Lille. At the aſſault commanded by prince Clermont, they carried all the works with the utmoſt rapidity; and they drained the inundations made by the beſieged. The covert-way was taken the fourth of June; the fifth the town capitulated, and was the firſt the king took in perſon. The commanding officer was permitted to march out with all military honours.

The king thought proper to demoliſh the fortifications of this town, in which ſuch great ſums had been expended. This was ſhewing an inſtance of moderation to the ſtates general by letting them ſee he did not intend to make uſe of this fortreſs againſt them; and at the ſame time was taking ſome revenge, and learning them to ſhew a greater reſpect to France, by demoliſhing one of their barriers.

The very next day * the king cauſed Ipres to be inveſted; and while preparations were making for the ſiege, he aſſiſted at a *Te Deum* in Liſle, ſuch as had never been ſeen on thoſe frontiers †. Three princeſſes of the blood, whoſe huſbands, brothers, ſons, or ſons in law, were fighting in different places for the king, adorned this ceremony. The ducheſs of Modena had accompanied her nephew the duke of Chartres into Flanders, along with the duke of

* June 6, 1744. † June 15.

Penthievre, who was on the point of marrying her daughter; while her huſband the duke of Modena, was at the head of the Spaniſh army in Italy. The ducheſs of Chartres had followed her huſband; and the princeſs of Conti, whoſe ſon was at that time upon the Alps, and whoſe daughter was married to the duke of Chartres, accompanied thoſe two princeſſes.

The prince of Clermont, abbot of St. Germain des-Préz, commanded the principal attacks at the ſiege of Ipres. There had been no inſtance ſince the cardinals de la Valette and de Sourdis, of a perſon in whom both profeſſions, the gown and the ſword, were united. The prince of Clermont had obtained this permiſſion from pope Clement XII. who thought fit that the church ſhould be ſubordinate to the army in the grandſon of the great Condé. They ſtormed the covert-way of the front or the lower town, though this enterpriſe appeared premature and hazardous. The marquis de Beaveau, major general, marched to the aſſault at the head of the grenadiers of Bourbonnois and Royal-Comtois, where he received a mortal wound, which gave him the moſt excruciating pain. In this torment he died, regretted by all the officers and ſoldiers, as a perſon capable of commanding one day the armies of France; and lamented by all Paris, as a man of probity and wit. He was one of the moſt curious antiquarians in Europe, having formed a cabinet of very ſcarce medals; and was the only man then of his profeſſion that cultivated this kind of literature.

The king ordered rewards to be given to all the offi-

officers of grenadiers who had attacked the covert-way, and carried it. Ipres ſoon capitulated §. Not one moment was loſt: whilſt they were entering Ipres, the duke of Boufflers took fort Knock: and whilſt the king †, after theſe expeditions, went to viſit the frontier towns, the prince of Clermont laid ſiege to Furnes, which capitulated ‡ after five days open trenches.

The allied army looked on the progreſs of the French, without being able to oppoſe it. The body of troops commanded by marſhal Saxe was ſo well poſted, and covered the beſieging army ſo well, that they could not but be ſure of ſucceſs. The allies had no fixed, no determinate plan of operations: thoſe of the French army were all concerted. Marſhal Saxe was poſted at Courtray, where he was able to prevent any attempt of the enemy, and to facilitate the operations of the beſiegers. A numerous artillery which was eaſily brought from Doway, a regiment of artillery conſiſting of near five thouſand men, full of officers, capable of conducting a ſiege; and compoſed of ſoldiers, moſt of them very able artiſts; in ſhort, a very conſiderable body of engineers, were advantages which could not be enjoyed by nations that had haſtily united only to wage war together for a few years. Eſtabliſhments of this kind muſt be the fruit of time, and of the conſtant attention of a powerful monarchy. A war whoſe operations conſiſt chiefly in ſieges muſt needs give the ſuperiority to France.

§ June 25. † June 29. ‡ July 11.

In the midſt of all theſe ſucceſſes, advice came that the enemy had paſſed the Rhine, towards Spire, within ſight of the French and Bavarians, that Alſace was invaded, and the frontiers of Lorrain expoſed. At firſt nobody would believe it; but nothing was more certain. Prince Charles by alarming the French in ſeveral places, and making different attempts at one and the ſame time, at length * ſucceeded on the ſide where count Seckendorff was poſted, who commanded the Bavarians, Palatines, and Heſſians.

This paſſage of the Rhine, which did ſuch honour to prince Charles, was the fruit of his diligence; and the conſequence of the neglect with which the public voice in France reproached the general of the Bavarian troops. Count Seckendorff was on the other ſide of the Rhine in the neighbourhood of Philipſburg, covered by that fortreſs, and able to awe any detachment of the enemy that ſhould preſent themſelves on that ſide. General Nadaſti advanced towards him while the other diviſions of the Auſtrian army bordered the river lower down, and kept the French at a bay. The Bavarians withdrew and repaſſed the Rhine: marſhal Coigni was obliged to entruſt count Seckendorff with the banks of the river towards Germerſheim and Rinſabeau: The count undertook to defend them: and this was the very place where prince Charles paſſed the Rhine.

A colonel of irregular troops, named Trenk, had ſucceeded Mentzel, who was killed a few

* June 29, 30.

days

days before: this man advanced ſoftly towards a place that was covered with willows and other aquatic trees, followed by ſeveral boats loaded with Pandours, Waradins, and Huſſars. He ſilently reached the other ſide of the river towards Germerſheim: about ſix thouſand men came over, and having advanced half a league, at length they met with three Bavarian regiments whom they defeated and put to flight. Prince Charles cauſed a ſecond bridge of boats to be built, over which his troops paſſed without oppoſition. Marſhal Coigny being informed of this diſaſter, diſpatched his ſon and the marquis de Croiſſi in all haſte with a detachment of dragoons. The marquis du Chatelet Lomont followed them with ten battalions of the beſt regiments: they all arrived at a time when the enemy were forming themſelves amidſt the moraſſes, and had no other reſource but their bridges, if they happened to be defeated.

Thoſe three officers preſſed general Seckendorff very hard to attack the enemy; they repreſented to him the important moment, the advantage of ſituation, and the ardor of the troops. The count at firſt promiſed to march, but afterwards changed his opinion: in vain did they inſiſt upon his complying: he anſwered that he was better informed than they; and that he muſt write to the emperor. Upon which he left them, ſeized with indignation and ſurprize.

Thus the Auſtrian army, conſiſting of ſixty thouſand men, entered Alſace without reſiſtance. In an hour's time prince Charles made himſelf maſter of Lauterburg, a poſt of no great ſtrength, but

of the utmoſt importance. He made general Nadaſti advance as far as Weiſſemburg, an open town, whoſe garriſon were obliged to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war: after this he put a body of ten thouſand men into the town, and in the lines around it. Marſhal Coigny, whoſe army extended along the Rhine, ſaw that his communication with France was cut off: that Alſace, the country of Metz, and Lorrain were going to be a prey to the Auſtrians and Hungarians: in ſhort there was no other reſource left than to cut his way through the enemy in order to re-enter Alſace, and to cover the country. Having reſolved upon this meaſure he inſtantly ſet out with the greateſt part of his army for Weiſſemburg, juſt after the enemy had taken poſſeſſion of it *. He attacked them in the town and in the lines. The Auſtrians defended themſelves with great bravery; they fought in the market places and in the ſtreets, which were ſtrewed with dead bodies: and the engagement laſted ſix hours. The Bavarians, who had defended the Rhine ſo ill, repaired their neglect by their valour: they were encouraged principally by the count de Mortagne, at that time lieutenant general in the emperor's ſervice, who received ten muſket ſhot in his cloaths: The marquis de Montal headed the French; and at length they retook Weiſſemburg and the lines. But they were ſoon obliged, upon the arrival of the whole Auſtrian army, to retire towards Haguenau, which they were likewiſe forced to abandon. Fly-

* July 15, 1744.

ing

ing parties of the enemy ſpread terror even to Lorrain; and king Staniſlaus was obliged to quit that country with his whole court.

The king having received this news at Dunkirk, did not heſitate a moment concerning the part he had to take: he reſolved to interrupt the courſe of his victories in Flanders, and leaving marſhal Saxe with forty thouſand men to preſerve his new acquiſitions, he flew himſelf to the aſſiſtance of Alſace.

After having made marſhal Noailles ſet out before him, he ſent the duke of Harcourt, with ſome troops to guard the ſtreights of Phalſburg, and prepared to march himſelf at the head of twenty ſix battalions, and three and thirty ſquadrons. This reſolution of his majeſty in his firſt campaign, revived the drooping ſpirits of the provinces alarmed by the paſſage of the Rhine, and ſtill more ſo by the preceding unlucky campaigns in Germany. The nation's zeal was ſo much the more excited, as in every thing the king wrote, in his letters, ordering *Te Deum* to be ſung, in his declarations to foreign perſons, in his letters to his family, the deſire of peace and the love of his people, were always his principal topic. This new ſtyle in an abſolute monarch, affected the minds, and at the ſame time rouſed the ſpirits of the nation.

The king took his route by St. Quintin, la Fere, Laon, Rheims, ordering his troops to march with all expedition, and appointing their rendezvous at Metz. During this march he increaſed the ſoldiers pay and ſubſiſtence; an attention which increaſed the love of his ſubjects.

He arrived at Metz the 5th of Auguſt, and the 7th tidings came of an event which changed the whole face of affairs, obliged prince Charles to repaſs the Rhine, reſtored the emperor to his dominions, and reduced the queen of Hungary to a more dangerous ſituation than any ſhe had yet been in.

One would imagine that this princeſs had nothing to fear from the king of Pruſſia, after the peace of Breſlaw; and eſpecially after a defenſive alliance, concluded the ſame year as the treaty of Breſlaw, betwixt that prince and the king of England. But the queen of Hungary, England, Sardinia, Saxony, and Holland having united againſt the emperor by the treaty of Worms; the northern powers, and eſpecially Ruſſia, having been ſtrongly ſolicited to come into this alliance; the progreſs of the queen of Hungary's arms increaſing daily in Germany; from all theſe circumſtances it was plain ſooner or later that the king of Pruſſia had every thing to fear. At length he determined upon renewing his engagements with France; the treaty had been ſigned ſecretly the 5th of April; and afterwards a ſtrict alliance was concluded at Frankfort *, betwixt the king of France, the emperor, the king of Pruſſia, the elector Palatine, and the king of Sweden as Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel. Thus the ſecret union of Frankfort was a counterpoiſe to the projects of the union of Worms, and on both ſides they exhauſted every reſource of policy and war.

* May 27, 1744.

Marſhal

Marſhal Schmettau came on the part of Pruſſia to inform the king of France, that his new ally was marching towards Prague, with an army of fourſcore thouſand men; and that two and twenty thouſand Pruſſians were advanced as far as Moravia. At the ſame time advice was brought of the freſh progreſs which the infant don Philip and the prince of Conti were making in the Alps. The ſcaling of thoſe mountains at Montalban and Villafranca, and the victories obtained among thoſe precipices, had not as yet opened a paſſage on that ſide; they could not advance for want of ſubſiſtence, through thoſe defiles and over thoſe rocks, where they were obliged to have the cannon dragged by ſoldiers, the forage carried on the backs of mules, and to walk in ſeveral places on the declivity of a mountain, the foot of which was waſhed by the ſea, and where they were expoſed to the artillery of the Engliſh fleet. Beſides, the Genoeſe had not yet ſigned their treaty; the negotiations were ſtill depending, ſo that the thorns of politics retarded the progreſs of the French arms. They opened themſelves however a new road on the ſide of Briancon towards the valley of Suza, and at length they penetrated as far as Chateau Dauphin *.

The bailiff de Givri led nine French battalions, de Poitou, de Conti, de Sales, de Provence, and de Brie, betwixt two mountains. The count de Campo Santo † followed him at the head of the Spa-

* July 19. 1744.

† The count de Campo Santo bore this name and title ever ſince the battle of Campo Santo, where he did ſurprizing feats; his

Spaniards through another file. Givri ſcaled a rock in broad day, on which there were two thouſand Piedmonteſe entrenched. The brave Chevert, who was the firſt that ſcaled the ramparts of Prague, was likewiſe one of the firſt that mounted this rock; but this was a more ſanguinary action by far than that of Prague. The aſſailants had no artillery, and were expoſed to the cannon of the Piedmonteſe. The king of Sardinia was in perſon behind the entrenchments, animating his troops. The bailiff de Givri was wounded in the very beginning of the action; and the marquis de Villemur being informed that a paſſage of equal importance had been juſt then luckily found out, ſent orders for a retreat. Givri obeys: but both the officers and ſoldiers were too greatly animated to follow his direction. The lieutenant colonel de Poitou leaps into the firſt entrenchments; the grenadiers dart themſelves one upon the other; and what is hardly credible, they paſs through the embraſures of the enemy's cannon, at the very inſtant when the pieces having fired, were recoiling by their ordinary motion. The French loſt near two thouſand men, but not one Piedmonteſe eſcaped.

The king of Sardinia in deſpair, wanted to throw himſelf into the midſt of the aſſailants; and it was with difficulty that they withheld him. Givri loſt his life; colonel Salis and the marquis de la Carte were killed; the duke d'Agenois, and a great

his name was his reward; as the name of Bitonto was given to the duke of Montemar after the battle of Bitonto. There is no title more glorious than that of having gained a battle.

many

many others were wounded: but it coſt them a great deal leſs than they might have expected in ſuch a ſituation. The count de Campo Santo, who could not reach this narrow and ſteep defile, where this furious engagement was fought, wrote to the marquis de la Mina, general of the Spaniſh army under don Philip: *ſome opportunities will offer in which we ſhall behave as well as the French; for it is impoſſible to behave better.* I commonly tranſcribe the letters of general officers, when I find they contain any intereſting matter; for which reaſon I ſhall inſert here what the prince of Conti wrote to the king concerning this action. *It is one of the moſt glorious and moſt obſtinate engagements that ever was fought; the troops have ſhewn ſuch valour as ſurpaſſes nature. The brigade of Poitou, with monſieur d'Agenois at their head, have gained immortal glory.*

The bravery and preſence of mind of M. de Chevert contributed chiefly to the advantage of the day. I recommend M. de Solemi, and the chevalier de Modene to your Majeſty. La Carte is killed; your majeſty, who knows the value of friendſhip, muſt be ſenſible how greatly I am affected with this loſs. Let me be permitted to ſay that ſuch expreſſions from a prince to a king, are leſſons of virtue to the reſt of mankind.

While they were taking Chateau Dauphin, they were obliged to force the place known by the name of the barricadoes. This is a paſs of about three fathoms between two mountains, which rear their heads to the ſky. The king of Sardinia had let the river of Stura, which waters the valley, into

this

this precipice; on the other ſide of the river the poſt was defended by three entrenchments and a covert-way. The French muſt then make themſelves maſters of the caſtle of Demont, which had been built at an immenſe expence on the top of a rock, that ſtood by itſelf in the middle of the valley of Stura; after which they would become maſters of the Alps, and might ſee the plains of Piedmont. Theſe barricadoes were forced * with great dexterity by the French and Spaniards, the day before the attack of Chateau Dauphin: they took them almoſt without ſtriking a blow, by putting thoſe who defended them betwixt two fires. It was this extraordinary advantage called the *day of the barricadoes*, that had induced the marquis de Villemur to order a retreat from before Chateau Dauphin. This general officer and the count de Lautrec having executed the enterpriſe of the barricadoes with more than ordinary ſucceſs, as it was not attended with the loſs of any of the king's troops, wanted to ſpare the effuſion of human blood before Chateau Dauphin; becauſe after forcing the barricadoes, this fortreſs muſt fall of itſelf. But the bravery of the king's troops tranſported them farther than there was reaſon to expect: and in two days time the valley of Stura, defended by the barricadoes, and by Chateau Dauphin, was laid open.

The ſurmounting of ſo many obſtacles towards Italy, a powerful diverſion made in Germany, the king's conqueſts in Flanders, and his march into

* July 18.

Alſace,

Alſace, had removed the public apprehenſion, when an alarm of another kind threw all France into a conſternation.

CHAP. III.

The king's illneſs. His life is in danger. As ſoon as he recovers, he marches into Germany. He lays ſiege to Friburg, while the Auſtrian army, that had penetrated into Alſace, marches back to the relief of Bohemia; and the prince of Conti gains a battle in Italy.

THE very day they ſang *Te Deum* at Metz for the taking of Chateau Dauphin, the king felt ſome ſymptoms of a fever; this was the eighth of Auguſt. His illneſs increaſed, and turned to a malignant diſorder; and the fourteenth at night his life was thought to be in danger. He had a very robuſt conſtitution, which was hardened by exerciſe; but the moſt robuſt bodies are the oftenеſt overcome by that diſtemper. The report of the king being in danger ſpread deſolation from town to town, the people flocked from every ſide of the country about Metz, the roads were filled with men of every age and condition, who by their different relations increaſed the common inquietude.

The fourteenth in the evening the queen received a courier from the duke de Gevres, who informed her of the king's great danger. The queen, the dauphin and his ſiſters, and all round them, were

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in tears; the whole place, the whole town of Verſailles, reſounded with lamentations. The Royal family ſet out that very night by poſt without the leaſt preparative. The queen accuſtomed to give away her money in acts of generoſity, had not enough to defray the expences of her journey: they were therefore obliged to ſend in the middle of the night to the receiver general of the finances at Paris for a thouſand Louidores. The ladies at court followed the queen without domeſtics; above twenty thouſand inhabitants of Verſailles filled the ſtair caſes, the court yards, the avenues, and followed the queen's coaches at a diſtance, ſome with mournful cries, and others in deep conſternation. The news was immediately ſpread at Paris; the people get out of their beds; they all run about in a hurry, without knowing where they are going; ſome repair to the ramparts where from afar they might ſee the Royal family paſs by; others flock to the churches; no longer do they know either the time of ſleep, of waking, or of reſt; all Paris is beſide itſelf: the houſes of the officers at court are beſieged by a continual crowd; the people gather in the public ſquares, and break out into a general cry: *if he dies, it is for having marched to our aſſiſtance.* And indeed his illneſs was owing to his expoſing himſelf too much, on his march, to the ſcorching heat of the ſun; for the ray that ſtruck him, darted with ſuch violence as to burn his thigh. They repreſented to themſelves what he had done in his firſt campaign; their concern was not owing to the misfortunes they might have reaſon to fear; no,

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they were too much affected to have any foreſight. They were actuated by love alone, which deprived them of their underſtanding; ſtrangers accoſted one another and aſked one another queſtions in church; the prieſt, as he was reciting the collect for the king's recovery, interrupted his prayer with his tears; and the people anſwered him with ſobs and lamentations. The poor gave charity to the poor, deſiring them to *pray for the king*; and theſe carried the money they received to the foot of the altar. There were ſome people in Paris, who fainted away, and others who were ſeized with a fit of illneſs, upon hearing that the king was in danger. The city magiſtrates appointed couriers, who every three hours brought them tidings of his condition. The ſuperior courts ſent to Metz: each had their couriers, who were coming continually to and fro. As they returned to Paris, they were ſtopped, upon the road and at the gates, by a multitude of people in tears. The phyſicians, who attended the king, wrote every three hours how the king did, to ſatisfy the people, who read thoſe certificates of health with impatience and trembling.

The queen arrived at St. Dizier, where ſhe found her father Staniſlaus, king of Poland, who had left the king's apartment the very moment that they deſpaired of his life. The general concern was then at the greateſt height; they thought the king was dead; and the rumour was ſpread through all the neighbouring towns. But he was treated in a very proper manner by his phyſicians, to whom ſuch diſorders are familiar, and who, joining rea-

ſon with experience, knew extremely well that the whole conſiſts only in letting nature operate freely: that, when this method does not ſucceed, we muſt leave our days to him who has counted them: all the reſt being only a falſe art, which impoſes on human weakneſs.

The queen arrived the ſeventeenth, when they began to have hopes again of the king's life. The cöurier, who brought the news of his recovery, was embraced and almoſt ſuffocated by the people; they kiſſed his horſe; they led him about in triumph: while all the ſtreets reſounded with cries of joy, *the king is recovered.* Strangers embraced each other; they ran to proſtrate themſelves in the churches; there was not ſo much as a company of tradeſmen, but gave order for *Te Deum* to be ſung. The king ſtill kept his bed, and was very weak, when they gave him an account of theſe ſurprizing tranſports of joy which had ſucceeded to ſuch ſcenes of ſorrow. This moved him very much, ſo as to draw tears from his eyes, when deriving ſtrength from his ſenſibility, he raiſed himſelf up in his bed, and ſaid: *Oh, what a pleaſure it is to be thus beloved! and what have I done to deſerve it?*

The firſt days of his convaleſcence were diſtinguiſhed by new advantages obtained by his arms in Italy. The prince of Conti, after having forced the barricadoes of the defiles of Stura, which ſeemed impenetrable, and after the taking of Chateau Dauphin, luckily reached the mountain of Demont: here he took every entrenchment, and at length reduced twelve hundred men, who defended this laſt fortreſs of the Alps, to ſurrender at diſcretion.

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This news entertained the king, and comforted him in his convaleſcence. Though he had been at the point of death, yet he never loſt ſight of the intereſt of his people. Marſhal Noailles at that time had the chief command of the army in Alſace, reinforced by the troops from Flanders, which the king's illneſs hindered him from conducting in perſon. Before that misfortune, this prince intended to give battle to prince Charles, who had ſent his flying parties as far as Lorrain: and notwithſtanding the troops had been retarded in their march, his attention was ſtill taken up with the expectation of an engagement; ſo that when he thought himſelf in danger of dying, he ſaid to count d'Argenſon, who never ſtirred from his pillow during the whole time of his illneſs: *Tell marſhal Noailles from me, That, while they were carrying Lewis XIII. to the grave, the prince of Condé obtained a victory.* And yet marſhal Noailles could only fall * upon the rear of prince Charles's army, which was retiring in good order, and loſt only about eighteen hundred men. In this ſkirmiſh, which coſt France but two hundred men, the chevalier d'Orleans, Grand Prior of France, and M. de Fremur were dangerouſly wounded.

Prince Charles, after having paſſed the Rhine in ſpite of the French forces, repaſſed it, almoſt without any loſs, within ſight of a ſuperior army. The king of Pruſſia complained moſt bitterly againſt their letting an enemy eſcape, who were coming to wreak their vengeance upon him. Here indeed they miſſed a lucky opportunity. The

* Auguſt 22 and 23.

king's illneſs had retarded the march of the troops; beſides, they muſt have paſſed through a difficult moraſs to attack prince Charles, who had taken all his precautions, ſecured his bridges, and contrived every thing that could facilitate his retreat, inſomuch that he did not loſe a ſingle magazine. Having therefore repaſſed the Rhine with fifty thouſand men complete, he marched towards the Danube and the Elbe with incredible expedition; and, after having penetrated into France as far as the gates of Straſburg, he haſtened to deliver Bohemia a ſecond time. The king of Pruſſia advanced towards Prague and inveſted it the fourth of September: but what ſeems extraordinary is, that general Ogilvi, who defended the town with fifteen thouſand men *, ten days after ſurrendered himſelf and his garriſon priſoners of war. This was the ſame governor who gave up the town in leſs time in 1741, when it was ſtormed by the French.

An army of fifteen thouſand Auſtrians being thus made priſoners of war at the taking of the capital of Bohemia, the remainder of the kingdom being ſubdued a few days after, Moravia being invaded at the ſame time, the French army returning to Germany, and other ſucceſſes attending their arms in Italy; in ſuch a ſituation one would have imagined that the grand European quarrel was on the point of being decided in favour of the emperor. This prince was preparing to return to Munich, as ſoon as he could receive intelligence that the road was open, upon prince Charles's re-

* September 15.

passing the frontiers of Bavaria in his march to the assistance of Bohemia. The landgrave of Hesse Cassel, having joined the union of Frankfort, had already hired three thousand men to the king of France, and was to furnish him with six thousand more. The elector Palatine was always of that party. The elector of Saxony, who had been in the first alliance against the queen of Hungary, might now renew it; and to this he was strongly sollicited by the king of Prussia, who promised him six circles in Bohemia. But as he kept two for himself, those of Konigsgratz and Leutmeritz, by his treaty with France; there was very little left for the emperor: and this was a new partition of the territories of the house of Austria. He offered a principality in the empire to count Bruhl, prime minister of Saxony; at the same time he promised father Quarini, the queen of Poland's confessor, the emperor's nomination to a cardinal's dignity; and among the pleasures of his successes he reckoned he should enjoy that of seeing a jesuit introduced into the sacred college by a protestant prince. The appearances were favourable, when prince Charles was yet in Alsace, and the king of France in full march to attack him with superior forces.

The king's sickness, as we have observed, disconcerted this project, which one would have imagined impossible to miss; though indeed its success seemed to be only retarded. Prince Charles's army was likely to diminish very much in his precipitate march towards Bohemia; and scarce had the Austrians quitted Bavaria, when the king gave

orders for the ſiege of Friburg, the bulwark of anterior Auſtria, which marſhal Coigni inveſted the thirtieth of October.

The king's phyſicians all adviſed him not to expoſe himſelf to the unwholſome air of that province after ſo dangerous an illneſs, but to return to Verſailles. He did not mind their advice, being determined to finiſh the campaign. While he was at Straſburg, where his reception was one of the moſt magnificent ſolemnities ever ſeen, the marquis de Biſſi arrived from Italy with the news of a victory. The infant don Philip and the prince of Conti had laid ſiege to Coni: and the king of Sardinia with a ſuperior army attacked them in their lines. Nothing could be better concerted than this prince's enterprize: it was on one of thoſe occaſions, where it is good policy to hazard a battle. If he won the day, the French had few reſources, and their retreat would have been attended with difficulty: if he loſt it, the town was ſtill able to hold out in this advanced ſeaſon, and he had a very ſafe retreat. The diſpoſition of his army was one of the moſt judicious ever known; for having leſs cavalry by one half than the beſiegers, and more infantry by half *, he made his attack in ſuch a manner, that his infantry was to have the whole advantage of the ground, and his cavalry was not at all to ſuffer. And yet he was beaten; the French and Spaniards notwithſtanding the national jealouſies which uſed conſtantly to riſe upon the ceſſation of danger, fought with all the harmony of allies who ſupport each other, and with the emulation of

* September 5, 1744.

rivals

rivals that are desirous of setting a mutual example. The king of Sardinia lost near five thousand men, and the field of battle; the Spaniards lost only nine hundred; the French had twelve hundred killed and wounded. Among the latter were the marquis de Senneterre, the marquis de la Force who died of his wounds, the chevalier de Chauvelin, and the chevalier de Chabannes: the prince of Conti, who commanded as a general and fought as a soldier, had his cuirass pierced through with two shot, and two horses killed under him. Of this he made no mention to the king; but he enlarged a good deal on the wounds of MM. de Senneterre, de la Force, and de Chauvelin, on the signal services of M. de Courten, on those of MM. du Cayla, de Choiseul, de Beaupreau, and of all those who had behaved gallantly; desiring they should be particularly rewarded. Among the prodigious number of officers, who deserved the commendations of the prince of Conti, he took particular notice in his letters, of MM. de Montmorenci, d'Agenois, de Stainville, of the marquis de Maillebois, quarter master general, and of M. de Chauvelin, major general of the army. This history would form only a continual list of names, could I recite all the brave actions, which, becoming common from their great number, are continually lost in the crowd.

This new victory was likewise one of those which are productive of losses, without being attended with any real advantages to the victors. In a little time, the rigour of the season, the great quantity of snow, the inundation of the Stura and

of the torrents, were of more ſervice to the king of Sardinia, than the gaining the battle of Coni was to don Philip and to the prince of Conti. They were obliged to raiſe the ſiege and to repaſs the mountains, after they had weakened their army. It is generally the fate of thoſe who fight towards the Alps, and have not the maſter of Piedmont on their ſide, to loſe their armies even by their victories.

CHAP. IV.

The ſiege of Friburg continued. State of affairs in Germany and Italy.

IN this wet ſeaſon the king was before Friburg. Of all the ſieges he had made, this was the moſt painful and the moſt dangerous. The French were obliged to turn the channel of the river of Treiſſau, and to open a new bed for it of two thouſand ſix hundred fathom; but no ſooner was this work completed, than a dyke broke, and they were obliged to begin again. The beſiegers were expoſed to the fire of the caſtle of Friburg, and obliged at the ſame time to drain two arms of the river. The bridges erected on the new channel were damaged by the waters, but the French repaired them again by night; the next day they marched up to the covert-way, where the ground was all undermined, and they were expoſed to an inceſſant fire from the enemy. Five hundred grenadiers were killed or wounded; and two whole compa-

companies periſhed by the ſpringing of the mines. This attack was commanded by the marquis de Brun, lieutenant general, with the duke de Randan, and M. de Courtomer, major generals, and M. de Berville, brigadier. The duke d'Ayen was there as the king's aid de camp; and count Lowendahl, who would alſo be at the ſiege as a voluntier, was wounded on the head with a muſket ſhot. This foreigner was a native of Denmark, and had been in the Ruſſian ſervice: it was he that took Ockzakow from the Turks. He ſpoke almoſt all the European languages, was perfectly acquainted with the different courts, with their genius, with the character of the people, and their different method of fighting; at length he preferred the ſervice of France, where from his reputation he was immediately received as lieutenant general.

The beſiegers were not the leaſt diſcouraged, but carried the greateſt part of the covert-way, and the day following they made themſelves entirely maſters of it, notwithſtanding the bombs, pattereroes, and grenadoes, with which the enemy inceſſantly annoyed them. There were ſixteen engineers at thoſe attacks, who were all wounded: the prince of Soubiſe had his arm broke by a ſtone; which as ſoon as the king heard, he viſited him ſeveral times, and ſaw his wounds dreſſed. This ſenſibility of their ſovereign encouraged the troops; there was not one of them but forgot the extreme hardſhips of the ſiege, and generouſly ventured his life. Their ardour was redoubled, when they followed the duke de Chartres, the firſt prince of the blood, to the trenches and to the attacks. Ge-

neral Damnitz, governor of Friburg, did not hang out the white flag till the ſixth of November, after a ſiege of two months. Count d'Argenſon drew up the articles of capitulation, which facilitated the taking of the citadel of Friburg. It was ſtipulated, as a favour granted from the king to general Damnitz, that he ſhould have leave to retire with his garriſon, his ſick and wounded into the citadel. The governor did not perceive, till after he had ſigned the capitulation, that this permiſſion would be fatal to him, that the citadel could not hold ſuch a number of men, that they would be crowded upon one another, and more expoſed to the enemy's cannon, and, in ſhort, that his ſick muſt infallibly periſh: he therefore begged of them not to grant him ſo dangerous a favour; but the permiſſion then was become an obligation. A ſuſpenſion of arms was however granted for twenty days; at the expiration of which term the citadel was beſieged, and taken in ſeven days. The king uſed the ſame policy at Friburg as at Menin; he demoliſhed the fortifications of the town, neither wanting to keep poſſeſſion of it, nor to run the hazard of its being retaken ſome day by the Auſtrians, and proving a thorn in his ſide. This was one of thoſe towns which Lewis XIV. had taken and fortified, and which he afterwards was obliged to ſurrender. It is true, that, according to the plan ſo often defeated, Friburg and the anterior Auſtria were to be given to the Bavarian emperor; but it was then foreſeen that he would not keep poſſeſſion of this country. The king indeed was maſter of all Briſgaw: the prince of Clermont

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on his ſide was advanced as far as Conſtance: and the emperor at length had the pleaſure of returning to Munich. In Italy affairs had taken a favourable turn, though they advanced but ſlowly. The prince of Conti demoliſhed the fortifications of Demont, after he had taken it by ſtorm. The king of Naples was purſuing prince Lobkowitz through the pope's territories. In Bohemia great matters were expected from the diverſion made by the king of Pruſſia; but they were diſappointed; fortune changed ſides again, as ſhe had often done during this war, and prince Charles drove the Pruſſians out of Bohemia, as he had made the French fly before him in 1742 and 1743. The Pruſſians committed the very ſame miſtakes, and made the ſame kind of retreats, as they had reproached the French armies with: they ſucceſſively evacuated the different poſts which led to Prague, and at length they were obliged to evacuate Prague itſelf *.

Prince Charles, after having paſſed the Rhine within ſight of the French army, paſſed the Elbe the ſame year within ſight of the king of Pruſſia. He followed him even into Sileſia, and his flying parties advanced as far as the gates of Breſlaw. At length it became a moot point whether the queen, who ſeemed to be undone in the month of June, would not recover Sileſia in the month of December the ſame year; and people were afraid that the emperor, who was but juſt returned to his deſolate capital, ſhould be once more obliged to leave it.

* November 19, 1744.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

The king of Poland, elector of Saxony, declares in favour of Mary Teresa, against whom he had joined in the beginning of the war. Affairs are more perplexed than ever in Italy. The king of Naples surprized at Velletri, in the neighbourhood of Rome.

THESE hopes the Auſtrians derived from a new change in their affairs, which indeed was not one of the leaſt revolutions in the whole war, namely the ſtep then taken by the king of Poland, elector of Saxony. This ſame prince, who in the beginning had joined the king of Pruſſia againſt the queen of Hungary, was then entering into an alliance with this princeſs againſt Pruſſia, and had already furniſhed her with about twenty thouſand men. In purſuing this meaſure he did not intend to declare war againſt king Frederick, but only to aſſiſt the queen, juſt as the States General had joined with her againſt France, without declaring war. It did not appear that the elector of Saxony could have any great intereſt in making the queen of Hungary and the new houſe of Auſtria more powerful; nay, it ſeemed ſtrange that he ſhould chuſe rather to aggrandize that houſe, than to raiſe himſelf upon its ruins: but a particular pique betwixt him and king Frederick, the powerful negotiations of England, the apprehenſion of the riſing grandeur of the houſe of Brandenburg, and the expectation of humbling it, produced a total alteration of maxims in the court of Dreſden.

Scarce

Scarce had the king of Pruſſia concluded his treaty in April 1744 with France and the emperor, when the king of Poland ſigned his agreement privately with the queen of Hungary in the month of May, he promiſed to aſſiſt her with thirty thouſand men, and the queen yielded to him a part of Sileſia, which ſhe hoped to be able to recover, and to which that prince had trumped up ſome ancient rights, as all the German princes have ſome pretenſions or other to the territories of their neighbours. England paid him a ſubſidy of a hundred and fifty thouſand pounds ſterling every year, ſo long as he continued to defend the queen of Hungary. If it was a matter of ſurprize, that a king of Poland and elector of Saxony ſhould be reduced to accept of this money; it was a much greater ſurprize that England ſhould be able to give it, when ſhe had granted this very year five hundred thouſand pounds to the queen of Hungary, two hundred thouſand pounds to the king of Sardinia, and at the ſame time ſhe paid a ſubſidy of twenty two thouſand pounds to the elector of Cologn, for permitting the enemies of the emperor his brother to raiſe troops againſt him in the territories of Cologne, Munſter, and Oſnabruck. To ſuch a low pitch was this unfortunate emperor reduced! The borders of the Rhine had been all frightened at the paſſage of prince Charles; and the Engliſh gold did the reſt. At this conjuncture the Auſtrians, aſſiſted by their new allies the Saxons, threatened Sileſia: they likewiſe threatened French Flanders with Engliſh and Dutch ſuccours.

The

The allied army in Flanders exceeded that which the king left under the command of marſhal Saxe, by twenty thouſand men. This general employed all thoſe reſources of war, which are intirely independent of fortune, and even of the bravery of troops. To encamp and decamp at proper opportunities, to cover one's own country, to maintain an army at the enemy's expence, to remove upon their ground when they advance into yours, and thereby to oblige them to march back; in ſhort to baffle ſuperior ſtrength by ſkill; this is what is looked upon as one of the maſter-pieces of the military art; and what marſhal Saxe did from the beginning of Auguſt to the month of November.

The quarrel about the Auſtrian ſucceſſion was every day growing more obſtinate, the emperor's fate more uncertain, the reſpective intereſts more complicate, while the ſucceſſes of each party were generally counterpoiſed by thoſe of the oppoſite ſide.

France had on her ſide in Germany the emperor, the king of Pruſſia, the Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, and the elector Palatine, by the treaty of Frankfort. But the Pruſſians were then buſy in defending themſelves. Heſſe was always ready to ſell troops to England, as well as to France. The Palatinate was a country that rather wanted protection than was capable of giving aſſiſtance; and beſides, a great part of its territories had been pillaged by the enemy. Thus Auſtria was ſtill the predominant power in Germany, eſpecially having the ſuccours of Saxony and of the Dutch, with the troops and ſubſidies of Great Britain. The reſt

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of the empire ſtill neuter, though a great part were well affected to the houſe of Auſtria, in all their memorials complained of this civil war which laid waſte their country.

The truth is, that the calamities which follow war had ruined a great many: yet on the other hand, it is no leſs true that this war really inriched Germany, while it ſeemed in appearance to ruin it. The French and Engliſh money, which was ſcattered among them with ſuch profuſion, remained in the hands of the Germans. Frankfort eſpecially, ſo long the reſidence of the Imperial court, of ſuch a number of miniſters, princes and generals, had made immenſe profits. Dreſden, which had furniſhed proviſions a long time to the French and Auſtrian armies in their turn, had thereby inriched itſelf; and upon the whole, this war had rendered Germany more opulent, and conſequently muſt ſooner or later render it more powerful. It was not ſo in regard to Italy, which moreover cannot form for any conſiderable time a powerful body like Germany. France had not ſent to the Alps more than forty two battalions, and thirty three ſquadrons, which, conſidering the ordinary deficiency in the troops, did not compoſe above a body of twenty ſix thouſand men. The infant's army was very near this number at the beginning of the campaign; and both of them, far from inriching a foreign country, drew their whole ſubſiſtence from the provinces of France. With regard to the pope's territories, on which prince Lobkowitz was then encamped with thirty thouſand men, they were rather ravaged than made rich.

rich. This part of Italy was going to become a bloody ſcene in this vaſt military theatre, which extended from the Danube to the Tiber.

The queen of Hungary's armies were very near making a conqueſt of the kingdom of Naples towards the months of March, April and May 1744; and had it not been for the prudent conduct of count Gages, they would certainly have done it. This general finding that his Spaniſh army was weakened, and he could have no recruits from Spain, incorporated Neapolitans into his old regiments, and theſe new troops grew inured to diſcipline: at length, by temporizing, he obliged prince Lobkowitz, who perceived his army alſo waſting away, to retire from Abruzzo towards Rome.

This city had beheld, ſince the month of July, an engagement in her neighbourhood, betwixt the Auſtrian and Neapolitan armies. The king of Naples, and the duke of Modena, were at Velletri, anciently the capital of the Volſci, and now the reſidence of the dean of the ſacred college. The king of the two Sicilies was lodged in the palace of Ginetti, which is reckoned a ſtructure of magnificence and taſte. Prince Lobkowitz made the ſame attempt upon Velletri, as Prince Eugene had done upon Cremona in 1702; for hiſtory is no more than a ſeries of events repeated with ſome variety. Six thouſand Auſtrians entered Velletri, in the middle of the night *; the main guard were ſlain; thoſe who reſiſted were cut in pieces, and thoſe who made no reſiſtance were made priſoners; in ſhort terror and alarm were ſpread

* Auguſt 10, 1744.

all

all around. The king of Naples and the duke of Modena were very near being taken. The marquis de l'Hoſpital, ambaſſador from France to the court of Naples, awakes at the noiſe, runs to the king, and ſaves him; no ſooner had the marquis quitted his houſe, when it was plundered by the enemy. The king, followed by the duke of Modena, and the ambaſſador, puts himſelf at the head of his troops without the town; the Auſtrians break into the houſes; general Novati enters the palace of the duke of Modena, where he finds M. Sabatini, that prince's miniſter who had been formerly in the ſame regiment with himſelf. *Is it not true*, ſaid this miniſter to him, *that you grant me my life, and you will content yourſelf with making me your priſoner?* While they were renewing their former acquaintance, the very ſame thing happened as at Cremona; the Walloon guards, a regiment of Iriſh, and another of Swiſs, repulſed the Auſtrians, ſtrewed the ſtreets with dead bodies, and retook the town. M. Sabatini, ſeeing this revolution from his window ſaid to the Auſtrian general; *'tis I now that grant you your life, and 'tis you that are my priſoner.* A few days after, prince Lobkowitz was obliged to retreat towards Rome; whither he was purſued by the king of Naples. The former marched towards one gate of the city, and the latter towards the other; they both paſſed the Tiber within ſight of the people of Rome, who from the ramparts enjoyed the ſpectacle of the two armies. The king was received at Rome, under the name of the count of Puzzuolo: his guards ſtood with their drawn ſwords in the ſtreets, while their maſter was

kiſſing

kiſſing the pope's toe; the two armies continued the war in the territory of Rome, whoſe inhabitants thanked heaven that the ravage extended no farther than their fields.

Upon the whole, we find that Italy was from the beginning the chief aim of the court of Spain; that Germany was the main object of the conduct of the court of France; and that on both ſides the ſucceſs was ſtill extremely dubious.

CHAP. VI.

Death of the emperor Charles VII. The war becomes more violent than ever.

IMmediately after the taking of Friburg, the king returned to Paris, where he was received as the avenger of his country, and as a father whom they had been afraid of loſing. He remained three days in his capital, to ſhew himſelf to the inhabitants, who wanted no other return for their zeal than the pleaſure of beholding him, and this was what he could not in gratitude refuſe. He dined in the Hotel de Ville, whoſe ſquare was adorned with thoſe magnificent decorations which make us wiſh for more durable monuments. He was ſerved at table according to cuſtom, by the provoſt of the merchants, and the dauphin by the firſt *Echevin*.

On this occaſion it was obſerved, that the inſcriptions of the Hotel de Ville, the triumphal arches, and illuminated figures, with which the town was adorned, were in Latin: though, indeed, theſe interpreters of the people's joy ought to be

ſuch as they can underſtand. They pique themſelves in Germany, in England, and in the North, for making inſcriptions and devices in French, which ſhould be a hint to our nation to ſhew the ſame honour to our language as is paid it by foreigners.

The king, at his return from the campaign, had no miniſter of foreign affairs, having been his own miniſter at the army. To fill this place he choſe ſucceſſively two men who had no thoughts of it. The firſt was M. de Ville-neuve, who, during his embaſſy to the Ottoman porte, had negotiated a peace between the Turks and the laſt emperor of the houſe of Auſtria. This gentleman was old and infirm: he had been always reckoned a wiſe man; a character which he ſtill maintained by his ſenſibility of his preſent condition: having no ambition to deceive himſelf, or to imagine he had ſtrength above his age, he refuſed the employment. The ſecond was the marquis d'Argenſon, the elder brother of the ſecretary at war: by this favour the king ſurprized the two brothers.

The only inducement the king had in giving away a place, which, according to the maxims of common policy in moſt courts of Europe, ſeems to require leſs virtue than cunning, was the character the marquis had of being an honeſt man. Theſe two miniſters were deſcended from one of the moſt ancient houſes of Tourraine, in which the dignities of the long robe have for ſome years been joined to the ancient honours of the ſword. Their father, who had been keeper of the ſeals, and miniſter of the finances, was a genius equal either

for the command of an army or for the policying a ſtate; a man of piercing wit, intrepid, and indefatigable; able to unravel the moſt knotty affairs; a declared enemy to trivial forms, which little minds are ſo fond of; in ſhort, a man ſuperior to party, fear, or intereſt. At the time the government wanted money, he ſent back a hundred thouſand crowns to the royal treaſury which were his right as miniſter of the finances: and when he acted thus, he was not rich, and had a numerous family. This action, which the king knew of, contributed greatly to the promotion of his ſons.

One of the firſt affairs, that came before the miniſter of ſtate, was an adventure in which there was rather a violation of the law of nations, of the privileges of ambaſſadors, and of the conſtitutions of the empire, than any exerciſe of the right of war.

The king, ſtill true to his engagements with the emperor, had ſent marſhal Belleiſle, with full powers from himſelf and from the emperor, to Munich, and from thence to Caſſel, and Sileſia. He was coming from Munich, the Imperial reſidence, with the chevalier his brother; they had been at Caſſel, and were continuing their journey, without any diſtruſt, through a country where the king of Pruſſia has ſeveral poſt-houſes, which, by agreement among the princes of Germany, have been always looked upon as neuter and inviolable. While the marſhal and his brother were changing horſes at one of thoſe poſt-houſes, in a borough called Elbingrode, belonging to the elector of Hanover, they were

arreſted

arreſted and ill uſed by an Hanoverian bailiff, and ſoon after removed to England. The duke of Belleiſle was a prince of the empire, and in this quality this arreſt might have been conſidered as a violation of the privileges of the college of princes. In former times emperors would have puniſhed ſuch an indignity: but any inſult might have been offered to Charles VII; all he could do was to complain.

The French miniſters laid claim at the ſame time to the privileges of ambaſſadors, and to every right of war. If marſhal Belleiſle was conſidered as a prince of the empire, and as a miniſter of the court of France going to the Imperial and Pruſſian courts; as thoſe two courts were not at war with Hanover, certainly his perſon was ſacred. If, on the other hand, he was looked upon as a general, and as a marſhal of France, the king offered to ranſom him and his brother. Purſuant to the cartel ſettled at Frankfort the eighteenth of June, 1743, between France and England, the ranſom of a marſhal of France was rated at 50,000 livres. The miniſter of king George II. eluded theſe preſſing arguments by a quirk, which was a new affront: he declared that he looked upon MM. de Belleiſle as priſoners of ſtate. They were treated with the greateſt regard, according to the maxim of moſt of the European courts, who ſoften the iniquity of politics and the cruelty of war by external appearances of humanity.

The emperor Charles VII. neglected and diſregarded in the empire, having no other ſupport but the king of Pruſſia, purſued by prince

Charles, and apprehenſive leſt the queen of Hungary ſhould again compel him to quit his capital, ſeeing himſelf the continual ſport of fortune, and oppreſſed by maladies which his chagrines had increaſed, ſunk at length under the weight: he died at Munich at the age of 47 years and a half, leaving this leſſon to the world, that the higheſt degree of human grandeur may lead to the utmoſt pitch of infelicity. He had been unhappy only ſince his elevation to the Imperial throne; and nature from that time was even more unkind to him than fortune. A complication of acute diſorders filled his days with bitterneſs, and carried him to the grave. He had the gout and the ſtone: upon opening his body, they found his lungs, his liver, and his ſtomach mortified, with ſtones in his kidneys, and a polypus in his heart. It was concluded that for ſome time he muſt have lived in continual pain.

The body of this unfortunate prince was laid in ſtate, dreſſed after the old Spaniſh mode, according to the regulation of Charles V. though there has been never a Spaniſh emperor ſince that prince, and Charles VII. had no manner of relation to that nation. He was buried according to the Imperial ceremonies: and with all that parade of vanity and human miſery, they carried the globe of the world before him, who, during his ſhort reign, was not even poſſeſſed of a ſmall unhappy province. They gave him the title of *invincible* in the reſcripts publiſhed by the young elector his ſon, a title by cuſtom annexed to the Imperial dignity, and which only ſerved to render the public more ſenſible of the misfortunes of him that poſſeſſed it.

His brother, the elector of Cologn, would never defend his cauſe; not but that this elector, who was biſhop and prince of Munſter, Paderborn, and Oſnabruck, might raiſe an army; but to have a good one great preparatives were requiſite; he ought to have laid up money, to have officers regularly trained, and ſoldiers diſciplined; all this he wanted. He had always foreſeen that Auſtria would reſume the ſuperiority, which indeed was the reaſon of his neutrality during this whole war: this occaſioned great complaints againſt him; but the event juſtified the conduct he was obliged to obſerve.

It was then believed that, as the cauſe of the war no longer ſubſiſted, peace would be reſtored to Europe: they could not offer the empire to the ſon of Charles VII. who was then only ſeventeen years of age; they flattered themſelves in Germany that the queen of Hungary would ſeek for peace as the ſure means of placing her huſband, the grand duke, at length, upon the Imperial throne: but ſhe would have this throne and alſo continue the war. The Engliſh miniſtry, who gave the law to their allies, becauſe they gave them money, ſupplying, at the ſame time, the queen of Hungary, the king of Poland, and the king of Sardinia, thought they ſhould be loſers by a treaty, and gainers by protracting the war: they had no difficulty to inſpire Mary Tereſa with the ſame confidence, ſo as to flatter herſelf that ſhe ſhould be able to beat both France and Pruſſia. The paſſage of the Rhine and of the Elbe in one campaign had doubled her courage. The king of France, on the other hand,

would not abandon either his ſon-in-law the infant don Philip in Italy, of the young elector of Bavaria in Germany, or the king of Pruſſia, who was returned to his old alliance.

This general war continued, becauſe it was begun: the object of it was now no longer the ſame as in the beginning; it was one of thoſe maladies whoſe ſymptoms alter when they grow inveterate. Flanders had been reſpected as a neutral country before the year 1744, but was now become the principal theatre of war; and Germany was conſidered by France rather as a field of politics than of military operations. The court of France caſt an eye upon the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, as a proper perſon for the Imperial crown. He was not only qualified to aſpire to this dignity, but he might likewiſe render it ſubſervient to the enriching his family with a part of the Auſtrian inheritance, which he had at firſt attempted to acquire by the ſword. At leaſt, by detaching him from his new alliance with Auſtria, there was a probability of giving a greater ſuperiority to the king of Pruſſia, and of compelling the queen of Hungary to accept of terms of peace. But the Saxon miniſter choſe rather to ſee his maſter an ally than an enemy of the court of Vienna: the king of Poland might have had the Imperial crown, but he would not accept of it.

This refuſal of the elector of Saxony, which appeared ſo aſtoniſhing to Europe, did not at all ſurprize thoſe who were acquainted with his court and with the ſtate of his affairs. They perſuaded him,

him, that he would find it very difficult to keep the crown of Poland, if he accepted of the empire, and that the republic of Poland would be afraid of having too powerful a chief. They repreſented to him that he would run the riſk of loſing a throne, which he might ſecure to his poſterity: and that, after all, he was not ſure of carrying his point in competition with the great duke of Tuſcany. The example of the elector of Bavaria had convinced him how difficult it is for a prince who is not of himſelf very powerful, to bear the weight of the Imperial crown; and that a grandeur, not founded on its own ſtrength, is oftentimes rather a humiliation. In ſhort, this prince, whether he was not ſtrong enough, or whether he was reſtrained by the treaties of Vienna, Dreſden, and Warſaw, which had connected him with the queen of Hungary and with England; inſtead of pretending to the empire, entered into a more intimate union with the queen, in order to place the Imperial crown on her huſband's head, and to give every thing to thoſe, to whom at firſt he would have granted nothing.

France had therefore no other reſource left than that of arms, and patiently to expect her fate, together with the deciſion of ſo many different intereſts, which had ſo often changed, and in all their mutations had kept Europe in continual alarm.

Maximilian Joſeph, the young elector of Bavaria, was the third from father to ſon whoſe rights had been maintained by France. This crown reſtored his grandfather to his dominions, obtained the Imperial crown for his father, now made a

freſh effort to ſupport this young prince. Six thouſand Heſſians in French pay, three thouſand Palatines, and thirteen battalions of German troops, which have been a long time in the French ſervice, had joined the Bavarian forces which were ſtill maintained by the king. To render theſe ſuccours effectual, the Bavarians ought to have done their beſt to defend themſelves: but it was their fate to be always beaten by the Auſtrians. They defended the entrance of their country ſo very ill, that in the beginning of April, the elector of Bavaria was obliged to quit that fame capital from which his father had been ſo often expelled.

This country had been ravaged to ſuch a degree, that it was not able to find forage for the French troops who were coming to the elector's aſſiſtance. The Heſſians were mercenaries, who would accept of French money, but did not care to fight. The tenth of April general Braun declared to count Segur, commander in chief of the French troops in Bavaria, that he would not go to meet the enemy, and that all he could do was to wait for them. M. de Segur found himſelf deſerted by the very people he was come to aſſiſt; and he could not rely on the Heſſians, who had ſhewn ſuch backwardneſs.

To complete the diſgrace of the French, count Seckendorff, who ſtill commanded the Bavarian army, correſponded with Auſtria, and was negotiating a ſecret accommodation, whereby he ſurrendered the houſe of Bavaria to the diſcretion of the queen of Hungary, and defeated every thing that had been done by France. One of the motives

of

of this general's diſcontent, was that the French had not latterly given him 24000 German florins, which he ſtill demanded, notwithſtanding the immenſe ſums the king had remitted him for the payment of the Bavarian troops. He had even taken the emperor Charles VIIth's plate in pawn, at the time that he commanded his army; and after he returned it to the electoral family, he complained they did not pay him the remainder of a ſum of money which was ſtill due. Every body knows, that this man after having been long in the ſervice of the houſe of Auſtria was confined by the laſt emperor of that family; and that upon the death of that prince he quitted the queen of Hungary for the houſe of Bavaria: now human nature is ſo conſtituted, that thoſe who often change maſters, are ſeldom heartily attached to any party. The twenty fourth of March he wrote to marſhal Thoring, a Bavarian general, theſe very words: *The happy ſucceſs with which they flatter themſelves upon the Rhine, will not ſave Bavaria; this country muſt be doomed to utter deſtruction, if means be not found out of ſaving it by ſome kind of accommodation, be it what it will.*

The count de Segur and M. de Chavigni, the king's plenipotentiaries in Bavaria, were but too well informed of his ſecret deſigns; they plainly perceived from the motions of the Bavarian army, that the king's troops were to be left expoſed in a country, where the very inhabitants, whom they had defended during the ſpace of four years, were become their enemies.

Things being thus unhappily ſituated, count Segur,

gur, who had only ſix thouſand foot, and twelve hundred horſe, French and Palatines, was attacked by an army of twenty thouſand Auſtrians *, within a few leagues of Donawert, near a little town called Pffaffenhoven. His buſineſs then was to ſave the king's troops and the military cheſt; for this end he poſted his men ſo well, covering them with a wood and gaining an eminence, that they maintained a moſt unequal and moſt obſtinate fight, without being thrown into diſorder. The French alone loſt about two thouſand men, killed and wounded: the Palatines leſs expoſed, had very few killed, but one of their battalions were made priſoners of war. The marquis de Rupelmonde, major general of the French forces, kept the enemy in play a long time in the rear, but was killed at length with a muſket ball on the field of battle. He had only his aid decamp near him when he received the wound. *Let me die*, ſaid he, *run and tell M. de Segur that he take care of the rear.* We cannot too much lament the death of this young man, who beſides every military talent was poſſeſſed of a philoſophic turn of mind, and of other agreeable qualities which rendered his company infinitely valuable to his friends. He was the only heir of a family long diſtinguiſhed in Flanders; the hope and conſolation of a mother, who for many years had been the darling of the court of France, and who now only lived for this ſon, on whom ſhe doated. The marquis de Cruſſol, who was entruſted with the command of the rear, and the chevalier de la

* April 15, 1745.

Marck,

Marck, behaved with ſuch prudence and intrepidity, that they merited the commendations of the enemy, and were rewarded by the prince. This little army retired to Donawert in good order, without being ever broke; and killed a great many more of the enemy than they themſelves had loſt.

All this while the young elector of Bavaria was at Augſburg. Had his council agreed to have joined his troops to thoſe which were only fighting his battles, he might ſtill have kept the ballance even. The king was defending his cauſe on all ſides: marſhal Maillebois at the head of a hundred and one battalions, and ſixty two ſquadrons, with ten independent companies, was driving an Auſtrian army commanded by the duke of Aremberg, beyond the river Lhon, and even menaced the electorate of Hanover: the king of Pruſſia kept prince Charles employed: in ſhort the king of France himſelf was upon the point of making a moſt powerful diverſion in Flanders. But all theſe conſiderations were ſuperſeded by count Seckendorf's party; they prevailed on the young elector to ſign preliminaries *, by which he made himſelf dependent on Auſtria; while the queen of Hungary was left in poſſeſſion of his ſtrongeſt towns, Ingolſtadt, Scharding, and Braunaw, till the concluſion of a definitive treaty: he likewiſe promiſed his vote at the firſt diet of election to the grand duke, and thereby placed over his own head the very perſon whom the preſent conjuncture

* April 22, 1745.

had

had rendered the moſt dangerous enemy of the houſe of Bavaria. The ſix thouſand Heſſians who were in this army declared themſelves neuter; but notwithſtanding their neutrality, they were diſarmed at Augſburg, after which they paſſed from French into Engliſh pay. The Palatines were ſoon obliged to embrace a neutrality. This revolution ſo lucky to the queen of Hungary, did this ſervice at leaſt to France, that it ſaved her the men and the treaſure of which ſhe had been ſo laviſh in favour of the houſe of Bavaria, and freed her from the burden of mercenary troops, which generally coſt a great deal more than their ſervice is worth. The young elector's council might excuſe this treaty by the experience of paſt and the apprehenſion of future misfortunes: but how could they juſtify a ſecret article by which the elector engaged to lend troops to the queen of Hungary, and like the reſt to receive Engliſh pay? Little did the king of France expect, when he put the elector Charles Albert on the Imperial throne, that in two years time the Bavarians would ſerve among his enemy's troops.

While the king loſt one ally who was only a burden to him, he ſtill preſerved another who was of infinite uſe. The king of Pruſſia was the terror of the Auſtrians; Prince Charles could hardly face him in the field.

The reſolution taken by Lewis XV. was to act upon the defenſive in Germany, and upon the offenſive in Flanders and Italy: and thereby he anſwered every purpoſe. His army upon the Rhine employed the Auſtrians, and prevented them from

fall-

falling upon his ally the king of Pruſſia, with too great a ſuperiority of forces. He had already ſent marſhal Maillebois from Germany into Italy; and the prince of Conti was entruſted with the management of the war upon the Rhine, a war of quite a different nature from that which he had conducted in the Alps.

The king undertook himſelf in perſon, to finiſh the conqueſts, which he had interrupted the preceding year. He had juſt married the dauphin to the ſecond infanta of Spain in the month of February *; and this young prince, who had not yet completed his ſixteenth year, prepared to ſet out the beginning of May along with his father.

Before the king's departure, Marſhal Saxe went to take upon him the command of the army in Flanders, which was to conſiſt of a hundred and ſix battalions and a hundred and ſeventy two ſquadrons complete with ſeventeen independent companies.

CHAP. VII.

Siege of Tournay. Battle of Fontenoy.

MARSHAL Saxe having made ſeveral marches, which kept the enemy in ſuſpenſe, and ſeemed ſometimes to threaten Aeth, and ſometimes Mons, all of a ſudden ſet down before Tournay, and inveſted it the 25th of

* 1745.

April,

April; while the allied army of Engliſh, Auſtrians, Hanoverians, and Dutch, were not able to prevent his operations. Tournay was the ſtrongeſt place of the whole barrier: the town and citadel were one of Vauban's maſterpieces; for there was not a place of any ſtrength in Flanders, whoſe fortifications had not been built by Lewis XIV.

The people of Tournay were fond of the French government, not ſo much becauſe their town is part of the ancient patrimony of the kings of France, as out of regard to their own advantage; they preferred the French magnificence which enriches a country, to the Dutch œconomy, which keeps it low. But the inclination of the inhabitants is ſeldom minded in fortified towns: they are no way concerned either in the attack or in the defence of thoſe places; they are transferred from one ſovereign to another by capitulations, which are made for them, without aſking their advice.

In the beginning of the ſiege of Tournay, happened one of thoſe events, where the inevitable fatality which determines life and death, appeared as it were in the moſt conſpicuous characters. The count de Talleyrand, colonel of the regiment of Normandy, had mounted the trenches under the orders of the duke de Biron; here a cavalier * was erected, near which they had placed a caſk of gun-powder. In the night the duke de Biron lay himſelf down upon a bearſkin near M. de Talleyrand; when he recollected that he had promiſed to ſpend part of the night with M. de Meuze. He reſolves to go, notwithſtanding that

* A kind of high platform to plant great guns upon.

M. de Talleyrand does all he can to diſſuade him. No ſooner was he gone than a ſoldier trying the prime of his fuſil, lets a ſpark fall upon the caſk of gun-powder: inſtantly the cavalier flies up into the air, and M. de Talleyrand is blown up with 24 ſoldiers, whoſe limbs quite torn and ſhattered are diſperſed on every ſide: part of the body of M. de Talleyrand was thrown to the diſtance of above thirty fathom. But an accident of this kind though never ſo fatal, is confounded in time of war, in the multitude of human calamities, which from our being too much ſurrounded by them, eſcape our attention. The garriſon of Tournay beholding this unlucky accident, inſulted the French, reviling them with the moſt injurious language. Upon which a few companies of grenadiers, unable to contain their indignation, anſwered them not by opprobrious ſpeeches, but by leaping out of the trenches, and running upon the glacis of the covert-way, though the regular approaches for attacking it were not yet finiſhed: they deſcend without order, without preparation, or even without officers upon the covert-way, notwithſtanding the fire of the enemy's artillery and their ſmall ſhot, and maintain themſelves boldly till the round came by, though expoſed on every ſide. The duke de Biron who commanded the trenches, hearing of this action, which the nature of the provocation and the ardour of the troops rendered in ſome meaſure excuſable, immediately orders gabions to be brought, makes epaulements, and lodges thoſe brave fellows on the covert-way, which they had ſo reſolutely carried.

As ſoon as the ſtates general were informed, that

that Tournay was in danger, they ſent word to the commander of their troops that he muſt venture a battle to relieve the town. Notwithſtanding the circumſpection of thoſe republicans, they were the firſt of the allies at that time who took vigorous reſolutions.

The fifth of May, the enemy advanced to Cambron, within ſeven leagues of Tournay. The king ſet out the 6th from Paris, with the dauphin; the king was attended by his aids-de-camps, and the dauphin by his minions.

The inhabitants of Paris, who had been ſo near loſing their king the foregoing year, felt a return of their pain, upon ſeeing both the father and the ſon ſet out for Flanders, to expoſe themſelves to the uncertain iſſue of a battle. The French had made no entrenchments as yet before Tournay in the lines of circumvallation: they had no army of obſervation: nor were the twenty battalions and forty ſquadrons, which had been draughted from the army commanded by the prince of Conti, as yet arrived.

But notwithſtanding the uneaſineſs they were under at Paris, it muſt be allowed that the king's army was conſiderably ſuperior to that of the allies. In ſeveral printed relations it is ſaid to have been weaker. Hiſtorical exactneſs obliges me to acknowledge that it was ſtronger by ſixty battalions and eighty two ſquadrons. For the French had a hundred and ſix battalions, reckoning the militia; and a hundred and ſeventy two ſquadrons: whereas the allies had only forty ſix battalions and ninety ſquadrons.

True

True it is that the day of the engagement the French did not avail themſelves intirely of this advantage. Part of the troops were not yet arrived; there was alſo a neceſſity for leaving ſome to guard the trenches of Tournay, and for the bridges of communication: but ſtill the ſuperiority of numbers were certainly on the ſide of France. And it is not leſs true that this advantage was not of any conſequence in ſo confined a ground as that of the field of battle; beſides it happens very ſeldom that victory is owing to numbers. The chief ſtrength of the enemy's army conſiſted in twenty battalions and twenty ſix ſquadrons of Engliſh, under the young duke of Cumberland, who in company with the king his father, had gained the battle of Dettingen. The Engliſh were joined by five battalions and ſixteen ſquadrons of Hanoverian troops. The prince of Waldeck, of the ſame age very near as the duke of Cumberland, like him full of ardour, and impatient to ſignalize himſelf, was at the head of the Dutch forces, conſiſting of forty ſquadrons and twenty ſix battalions. In this army the Auſtrians had only eight ſquadrons: the allies were fighting their cauſe in Flanders, a country that has been long defended by the arms and treaſure of England and Holland. But at the head of this ſmall number of Auſtrians was old general Konigſeg, who had commanded againſt the Turks in Hungary, and againſt the French in Italy and in Germany: it was intended that his years and experience ſhould be a check to the youthful ardour of the duke of Cumberland,

and of prince Waldeck. The whole allied army was upwards of fifty thouſand combatants.

The king left about eighteen thouſand men before Tournay, who were poſted at gradual diſtances from the field of battle; beſides ſix thouſand to guard the bridges on the Scheld, and the communications. The army was commanded by a general, in whom they had the greateſt confidence. Count Saxe had made the art of war his conſtant ſtudy, even in time of peace: beſides a profound theory he had great practical knowledge: in ſhort, vigilance, ſecreſy, the art of knowing properly when to poſtpone and when to execute a project, to ſee things at one glance, preſence of mind and foreſight, were abilities allowed him by the conſent of all military people. But at that time this general was waſting away with a lingering diſorder, and almoſt at death's door when he left Paris. The author of theſe memoirs happening to meet him before he ſet out for Flanders, could not forbear aſking him, how he could think of taking the field in that feeble condition? the marſhal anſwered: *It is not time now to think of living, but of departing.*

The 6th of May the king arrived at Doway: juſt as he was going to bed, he received a courier from the marſhal, who informed him that the enemy's army was approaching, and that they ſhould be quickly in ſight of each other. *Gentlemen,* ſaid the king to his aid-de-camps and to his officers, *there ſhall be no time loſt; I ſet out tomorrow morning at five o'clock; but do not diſturb the dauphin.*

The

The next day the king arrived at Pont-a-Chin near the Scheld, within reach of the trenches of Tournay. The dauphin, who had been appriſed, was there in time; and attended the king, when he went to reconnoitre the ground deſigned for the field of battle. The whole army, upon ſeeing the king and the dauphin, made the air reſound with acclamations of joy. The enemy ſpent the tenth and the night of the eleventh in making their laſt diſpoſitions. Never did the king expreſs greater chearfulneſs than the evening before the engagement. The converſation turned upon the battles at which the kings of France had been preſent: the king ſaid, that ſince the battle of Poitiers, never a king of France had his ſon with him in an engagement; that none of them had ever gained a ſignal victory over the Engliſh; and he hoped to be the firſt.

The day the battle was fought, he waked the firſt: at four o'clock he himſelf awakened count d'Argenſon, ſecretary at war, who that very inſtant ſent to marſhal Saxe to know his laſt orders. They found the marſhal in a wicker vehicle, which ſerved him as a bed; he was carried about in it, when his ſtrength came to be ſo exhauſted as he could no longer ride on horſeback. The king and the dauphin had already paſſed the bridge of Calonne. The marſhal told the officer ſent by count d'Argenſon, that the king's guards muſt come forward, for he had fixed their poſt in the reſerve with the carabineers, as a ſure reſource. This was a new method of poſting troops, whom the enemy conſider as the flower of an army. But

he added, that the guards ſhould not be ordered to advance, till the king and the dauphin had repaſſed the bridge. The marſhal, as a foreigner, was very ſenſible how much leſs it became him than any other general, to expoſe two ſuch precious lives, to the uncertain iſſue of a battle. The officer, to whom he had made theſe anſwers, was loth to repeat them to the king; but this prince, apprized of the marſhal's directions, ſaid, *Let my guards advance this very moment; for I will not repaſs the bridge.* Soon after he went and took poſt beyond the place called *The Juſtice of our Lady in the Wood.* For his guard he would have only a ſquadron of a hundred and twenty men of the company of Charôt, one gendarm, a light-horſe-man, and a muſketeer. Marſhal Noailles kept near his majeſty, as did alſo the count d'Argenſon; the aid-de-camps were the ſame as the preceding year. The duke de Villeroi was alſo about his perſon, as captain of the guards; and the dauphin had his minions near him.

The king and the dauphin's retinue, which compoſed a numerous troop, were followed by a multitude of perſons of all ranks, whom curioſity had brought to this place, ſome of whom were mounted even on the tops of trees to behold the ſpectacle of a bloody engagement.

The aſſiſtance of engraving is abſolutely neceſſary to a perſon that has a mind to form to himſelf a clear and diſtinct image of this action. The ancients, who were ſtrangers to this art, could leave us but imperfect notions of the ſituation and

motion

motion of their armies: but to have an adequate knowledge of ſuch a day; reſearches, ſtill more difficult, are neceſſary. No one officer can ſee every thing, a great many behold with eyes of preposſeſſion; and there are ſome that are very ſhort ſighted. There is a good deal in having conſulted the papers of the war office, and eſpecially in getting inſtruction from the generals and the aid-de-camps: but it is requiſite moreover to ſpeak to the commanding officers of the different corps, and to compare their relations, in order to mention only thoſe facts in which they agree.

All theſe precautions have I taken for the obtaining a thorough information of the detail of a battle, of which even the leaſt particulars muſt be intereſting to the whole nation. Caſting an eye upon the plan, you perceive at one glance the diſpoſition of the two armies. You ſee Antoin pretty near the Scheld, within nine hundred fathom of the bridge of Calonne, the way that the king and the dauphin came. The village of Fontenoi is within eight hundred fathom of Antoin; from thence, drawing towards the north, is a piece of ground four hundred and fifty fathom broad betwixt the woods of Barri and of Fontenoi. In this plan you ſee the diſpoſitions of the brigades, the generals that commanded them, with what art they prepared againſt the efforts of the enemy near the Scheld and Antoin, betwixt Antoin and Fontenoi, in thoſe villages lined with troops and artillery, on the ground which ſeparates Fontenoi from the woods of Barri, and finally on the left

towards Remecroix, where the enemy might advance by fetching the compaſs of the woods.

The general had made proviſion, for a victory, and againſt a defeat. The bridge of Calonne lined with cannon, ſtrengthened with entrenchments, and defended by a battalion of guards, another of Swiſs, and three of militia, was to facilitate the retreat of the king and of the dauphin in caſe of any unlucky accident. The remainder of the army was to have filed off at the ſame time over the other bridges on the lower Scheld in the neighbourhood of Tournay.

Notwithſtanding all theſe meaſures, ſo well concerted as to ſupport each other without the leaſt claſhing, there happened one miſtake, which had it not been rectified, might have occaſioned the loſs of the day. The evening preceding the battle, the general was told, that there was a hollow way, deep and impracticable, which extended without diſcontinuance from Antoin to Fontenoi, and would ſecure the army on that ſide. Weak as he was, he reconnoitred a part of this hollow way himſelf; and they aſſured him that the remainder was ſtill more inacceſſible. He made his diſpoſitions accordingly; but this ground which was very deep near Fontenoi and Antoin, was quite level betwixt thoſe two villages. This circumſtance ſo trivial in other caſes, was here of the utmoſt conſequence; for the army might have been taken in flank. The marſhal having been better informed by the quarter maſter M. de Cremille, cauſed three redoubts to be haſtily erected in this ſame ſpot betwixt the villages. Marſhal

Noailles

Noailles directed the works in the night, and joined Fontenoi to the firſt redoubt by an earthen redan: the three redoubts were furniſhed with three batteries of cannon, one of eight pieces, the other two of four; they were called the redoubts of Bettens, from being defended by the Swiſs regiment of Bettens with that of Dieſbach. Beſide theſe precautions they had likewiſe planted ſix ſixteen pounders on this ſide the Scheld, to gall the troops that ſhould attack the village of Antoin.

We muſt particularly obſerve that there was a piece of ground of about four hundred and fifty fathom, which had a gentle aſcent betwixt the woods of Barri and Fontenoi. As the enemy might penetrate this way, the general took care to erect at the verge of the woods of Barri, a ſtrong redoubt, where the guns were fixed in embrazures; here the marquis de Chambona commanded a battalion of the regiment of *Eu*. The cannon of this redoubt, with thoſe which were planted to the left ſide of Fontenoi, formed a croſs-fire ſufficient, one would imagine, to ſtop the efforts of the moſt intrepid enemy.

If the Engliſh ſhould have attempted to paſs through the wood of Barri, they would have met with another redoubt furniſhed with cannon; if they made a greater circuit, they had entrenchments to force, and muſt have been expoſed to the fire of two batteries on the high road leading to Leuze. Thus did marſhal Saxe on every ſide, make the moſt advantage of the ground.

With reſpect to the poſition of the troops, beginning from the bridge of Vaux, which after the battle was called the bridge of Calonne, there was no one part left naked. The count de la March and de Lorges were entruſted with the poſt of Antoin: where were ſix battalions of Piedmont and Biron, with ſix cannon at the head of thoſe regiments.

The marquis de Crillon was poſted with his regiment hard by the redoubt neareſt Antoin; on the left he had dragoons to ſupport him.

The village of Fontenoi was committed to the care of the count de la Vauguion, who had under him the ſon of the marquis de Meuze-Choiſeul with the regiment of Dauphin, of which this young man, who is ſince dead, was colonel. The duke de Biron, lieutenant general, was at the head of the king's regiment, which he then commanded, cloſe to the village of Fontenoi. On his left was the viſcount d'Aubeterre, and the regiment of his name.

Very near upon the ſame line the general had placed four battalions of French guards, two of Swiſs, and the regiment of Courtin on the ground extending from Fontenoi to the wood of Barri.

About two hundred fathom behind them were fifty two ſquadrons of horſe: the duke d'Harcourt, the count d'Eſtrees, and the count de Penthievre, were lieutenant generals of this firſt line. M. de Clermont-Gallerande, du Cheila, and d'Apcher, commanded the ſecond; and between theſe lines of cavalry, in the morning the general placed

the

the regiments of la Couronne, Hainault, Soiſſons, and Royal.

On the left was the Iriſh brigade, under the command of my lord Clare, in a little plain of about one hundred paces. Further on was the regiment of Vaiſſeaux, of which the marquis de Guerchi was then colonel: betwixt theſe brigades were M. de Clermont-Tonnerre, and the prince de Pons, of the houſe of Lorrain, at the head of the brigade of cavalry of Royal-Rouſſillon.

The king's houſhold and the carabiniers were in the corps de reſerve. This was a new practice of marſhal Saxe, recommended by the chevalier Folard, to ſecrete from the enemy's view thoſe troops which are moſt famed for bravery, againſt whom they generally direct the flower of their forces.

Theſe diſpoſitions being all made, or upon the point of being made, in ſilence they waited for the break of day. At four in the morning marſhal Saxe, attended by his aid-de-camps, and by the principal officers, went to viſit all the poſts. The Dutch, who were already forming, kept continually firing at theſe officers; which the marſhal perceiving, ſaid, *Gentlemen, there will be occaſion for your lives to day:* he made them diſmount, and walked a long time through this hollow way, of which we have already made mention. The fatigue exhauſted his ſtrength and increaſed his illneſs; finding himſelf grow weaker, he got into his wicker vehicle again, where he reſted for ſome little time. At break of day count d'Argenſon went to ſee whether the artillery of the redoubts

and

and villages was in good order, and whether the field pieces were all arrived. They were to have a hundred pieces of cannon, and they had only ſixty. Here the preſence and directions of the miniſter were neceſſary: he gave orders for them to bring the forty pieces that were wanting; but in the tumult and hurry almoſt unavoidable on ſuch an occaſion, they forgot to bring the number of balls which ſuch artillery required. The field pieces were four pounders, and drawn by ſoldiers; the cannon in the villages and the redoubts, as alſo thoſe planted on this ſide the Scheld againſt the Dutch, were from four to ſixteen pounders. Two battalions belonging to the ordnance were diſtributed in Antoin, Fontenoi, and the redoubts, under the direction of M. Brocard, lieutenant general of the artillery.

The enemy had eighty one cannon, and eight mortars. Their field pieces were three pounders; they were what we uſed formerly to call *fauconets*; their length is about four feet and a half, their ordinary charge is two pounds of powder, and they carry 250 fathom at full ſhot. There were ſome that carried only balls of a pound and a half. The cannonading began on both ſides: marſhal Saxe told marſhal Noailles, that here the enemy would ſtop: he ſuppoſed them to have formed a deeper deſign than they really had, imagining they would do juſt what he would have done in their place, that they would keep the French army in awe, and in continual alarm, by which means they might retard, and perhaps abſolutely prevent the taking of Tournay. And indeed they were poſt-

ed in ſuch a manner that they could not be attacked with advantage; while at the ſame time they had it in their power conſtantly to haraſs the beſieging army. This was the opinion of the old general Konigſeg: but the duke of Cumberland's courage was too warm, and the confidence of the Engliſh too great, to liſten to advice. At the time they began to cannonade, marſhal Noailles was near to Fontenoi, and gave an account to marſhal Saxe of the work he had done the beginning of the night in joining the village of Fontenoi to the firſt of the three redoubts betwixt Fontenoi and Antoin: he acted as his firſt aid-de-camp, thus ſacrificing the jealouſy of command to the good of the ſtate, and forgetting his own rank to yield the precedency to a general who was not only a foreigner but younger in commiſſion than himſelf. Marſhal Saxe was perfectly ſenſible of the real value of this magnanimity; and never was there ſo perfect a harmony betwixt two men, who from the ordinary weakneſs of the human heart, ſhould naturally have been at variance.

At this very moment the duke of Grammont came up; when marſhal Noailles ſaid to him; *Nephew, we ſhould embrace one another on the day of battle, perhaps we ſhall not ſee one another again.* Accordingly they embraced one another moſt tenderly; and then marſhal Noailles went to give the king an account of the ſeveral poſts which he had viſited.

The duke of Grammont met count Lowendahl, who advanced with him within a very little diſtance

ſtance of the firſt redoubt of the wood of Barri, oppoſite to an Engliſh battery; here a cannon ball of three pound weight ſtruck the duke of Grammont's horſe, and covered count Lowendahl with blood; a piece of fleſh which flew off with the ſhot, fell into his boot. *Have a care*, ſays he to the duke of Grammont, *your horſe is killed*; *and I too*, anſwered the duke. The upper part of his thigh was ſhattered by the ball, and he was carried off the field. When M. de Peyronie met him upon the road to Fontenoi, he was dead. The ſurgeon made a report of it to the king, who cried out with concern: *Ah! we ſhall loſe a great many more to day.*

The cannonading continued on both ſides till eight in the morning with great vivacity, without the enemy's ſeeming to have formed any ſettled plan. Towards ſeven, the Engliſh encompaſſed the whole ground of the village of Fontenoi, and attacked it on every ſide. They flung bombs into it, one of which fell juſt before marſhal Saxe, who was then ſpeaking to count Lowendahl.

The Dutch afterwards advanced towards Antoin, and the two attacks were equally well ſupported. The count de Vauguion, who commanded in Fontenoi, with the young count de Meuze under him, conſtantly repulſed the Engliſh. He had made entrenchments in the village, and enjoined the regiment of Dauphin not to fire but according to his orders. He was well obeyed; for the ſoldiers did not fire till they were almoſt muzzle to muzzle, and ſure of their mark; at each diſcharge they made the air reſound with *Vive le Roi.*

Roi. The count de la Marck, with the count de Lorges, in Antoin, employed the Dutch, both horſe and foot. The marquis de Chambonas alſo repulſed the enemy in the ſeveral attacks of the redoubt of Eu. The Engliſh preſented themſelves thrice before Fontenoi, and the Dutch twice before Antoin. At their ſecond attack almoſt a whole Dutch ſquadron was ſwept away by the cannon of Antoin, and only fifteen left; from that time the Dutch continued to act but very faintly, and at a diſtance.

The king was at that time along with the dauphin, near *the Juſtice of our Lady in the Wood*, againſt which the Engliſh played very briſkly with their cannon. Even the ſmall muſket ſhot reached thus far; a domeſtick of count d'Argenſon having been wounded on the forehead by a muſketball, a good way behind the king.

From this poſition, which was equally diſtant from the ſeveral corps, the king obſerved every thing with great attention. He was the firſt that perceived, that as the enemy attacked Antoin and Fontenoi, and ſeemed to bend their whole ſtrength on that ſide, it would be of no uſe to leave the regiments of Normandy, Auvergne, and Tourraine towards Ramecroix: he therefore cauſed Normandy to advance near the Iriſh, and put Auvergne and Tourraine farther behind. But he did not change this diſpoſition till he had aſked the general's advice, intirely ſollicitous about the ſucceſs of the day, never preſuming on his own opinion, and declaring that he was come to the army only for his own, and for his ſon's inſtruction.

Then

Then he advanced towards the ſide of Antoin, at the very time that the Dutch were moving forward to make their ſecond attack: the cannon balls fell round him and the dauphin; and an officer named M. d'Arbaud, afterwards colonel, was covered with dirt from the rebounding of a ball. The French have the character of gaiety even in the midſt of danger: the king and thoſe about him, finding themſelves daubed with the dirt thrown up by this ſhot, fell a laughing: the king made them pick up the balls, and ſaid to M. de Chabrier, major of artillery; *Send theſe balls back to the enemy, I will have nothing belonging to them.* He afterwards returned to his former poſt, and with ſurprize obſerved, that moſt of the balls that were then fired towards the woods of Barri, from the Engliſh battery, fell upon the regiment of Royal-Rouſſillon, which did not make the leaſt movement, whereby he could form any remark either upon its danger or its loſſes.

The enemy's attack, till ten or eleven o'clock, was no more than what marſhal Saxe had foreſeen. They kept firing, to no manner of purpoſe, upon the villages and the redoubts. Towards ten the duke took the reſolution of forcing his way betwixt the redoubt of the woods of Barri and Fontenoi. In this attempt he had a deep hollow way to paſs, expoſed to the cannon of the redoubt, and on the other ſide of the hollow way he had the French army to fight. The enterprize ſeemed temerarious. The duke of Cumberland took this reſolution only becauſe an officer, whoſe name was Ingolſby, whom he commanded to attack the redoubt

doubt of Eu, did not execute his orders. Had he made himſelf maſter of that redoubt, he might have eaſily and without loſs brought his whole army forward, protected even by the cannon of the redoubt, which he would have turned againſt the French. But, notwithſtanding this diſappointment, the Engliſh advanced through the hollow way, They paſſed it almoſt without diſordering their ranks, dragging their cannon through the byways; they formed upon three lines pretty cloſe, each of them four deep, advancing betwixt the batteries of cannon which galled them moſt terribly, the ground not above four hundred fathom in breadth. Whole ranks dropped down to the right and left; but they were inſtantly filled up; and the cannon, which they brought up againſt Fontenoi and the redoubts, anſwered the French artillery. Thus they marched boldly on, preceded by ſix field pieces, with ſix more in the middle of their lines.

Oppoſite to them were four battalions of French guards, with two battalions of Swiſs guards at their left, the regiment of Courten to their right, next to them the regiment of Aubeterre, and farther on the king's regiment which lined Fontenoi the length of the hollow way.

From that part where the French guards were poſted, to where the Engliſh were forming, it was a riſing ground.

The officers of the French guards ſaid to one another, *we muſt go and take the Engliſh cannon.* Accordingly they aſcended ſoon to the top with their grenadiers; but when they got there, great was their ſurprize to find a whole army before them.

The

The enemy's cannon and ſmall ſhot brought very near ſixty of them to the ground, and the remainder were obliged to return to their ranks.

In the mean time the Engliſh advanced, and this line of infantry, compoſed of the French and Swiſs guards and of Courten, having upon their right the regiment of Aubeterre, and a battalion of the king's, drew near the enemy; the regiment of Engliſh guards was at the diſtance of fifty paces. Campbell's and the royal Scotch were the firſt; Mr. Campbell was their lieutenant general, my lord Albemarle their major general. And Mr. Churchill, a natural ſon of the famous duke of Marlborough, their brigadeer. The Engliſh officers ſaluted the French by taking off their hats. The count de Chabannes and the duke de Biron advanced forward, and returned the compliment. My lord Charles Hay, captain of the Engliſh guards, cried out, *Gentlemen of the French guards, give fire.*

The count d'Antroche, then lieutenant and ſince captain of grenadiers, made anſwer with a loud voice, *Gentlemen, we never fire firſt, fire you firſt.* Then the captain ſaid to his men, in Engliſh, *fire.* The Engliſh made a running fire, that is, they fired in platoons, in this manner, that when the front of a battalion, four deep, had fired, another battalion made its diſcharge, and then a third, while the firſt were loading again. The line of French infantry did not fire; it was ſingle, and four deep, the ranks pretty diſtant, and not at all ſupported by any other body of infantry. It was impoſſible but their eyes muſt have been ſurprized at the

depth of the Engliſh corps, and their ears ſtunned with the continual fire. Nineteen officers of the guards were wounded at this firſt diſcharge; Meſſieurs de Cliſſon, de Langey, and de la Peyrere, loſt their lives. Ninety five ſoldiers were killed upon the ſpot; two hundred and eighty five were wounded: eleven Swiſs officers were wounded, as alſo one hundred and forty five of their common men, and ſixty four were killed. Colonel de Courten, his lieutenant colonel, four officers, and ſeventy five ſoldiers, dropped down dead; fourteen officers and two hundred ſoldiers were dangerouſly wounded. The firſt rank being thus ſwept away, the other three looked behind them, and, ſeeing only ſome cavalry at the diſtance of above three hundred fathom, they diſperſed. The duke of Grammont, their colonel and firſt lieutenant general, whoſe preſence would have encouraged them, was dead; and M. de Luttaux, ſecond lieutenant general, did not come up till they were routed. The Engliſh in the mean time advanced gradually as if they were performing their exerciſe: one might ſee the majors holding their canes upon the ſoldiers muſkets, to make them fire low and ſtraight.

Thus the Engliſh pierced beyond Fontenoi and the redoubt. This corps, which before was drawn up in three lines, being now ſtraitened by the nature of the ground, became a long ſolid column, unſhaken from its weight, and ſtill more ſo from its courage. It advanced towards the regiment of Aubeterre: at the news of this danger M. de Luttaux made all haſte from Fontenoi, where he had been dangerouſly wounded. His aid-de-camp

begged of him to begin with having his wound dreſſed: *The king's ſervice*, anſwered M. de Luttaux, *is more dear to me than life*. He advanced with the duke de Biron at the head of the regiment of Aubeterre led by the colonel of that name; but, on coming up, he received two mortal wounds. At this ſame diſcharge M. de Biron had a horſe killed under him; a hundred ſoldiers of Aubeterre were killed, and two hundred wounded. The duke de Biron, with the king's regiment under his command, ſtops the march of the column on its left flank: upon which the regiment of Engliſh guards, detaching itſelf from the reſt, advances ſome paces towards him, kills three of his captains, wounds fifteen captains and twelve lieutenants: at the ſame time two hundred and ſixty ſix ſoldiers were killed and ſeventy nine wounded. The regiment de la Couronne, perceiving itſelf placed a little behind the king's, preſents itſelf to the Engliſh column: but its colonel the duked' Havré, the lieutenant colonel, all the ſtaff officers, and, in ſhort, thirty ſeven officers are wounded ſo as to be obliged to quit the field; and the firſt rank of the ſoldiers, to the number of two hundred and ſixty, is overthrown.

The regiment of Soiſſonnois, advancing after la Couronne, had fourteen officers wounded, and loſt a hundred and thirty ſoldiers.

The regiment of Royal, which was then with la Couronne loſt more than any other corps at theſe diſcharges: ſix of its officers, one hundred and thirty ſix ſoldiers were killed; thirty two officers, and five hundred and nine ſoldiers were wounded.

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The Engliſh, who were advancing towards the king's regiment, might attack Fontenoi in reverſe, while they were canonading it on the other ſide, and then the battle would have been inevitably loſt. The duke de Biron, having placed ſome grenadiers in this hollow way which lined Fontenoi, rallied his regiment, and made a briſk diſcharge upon the Engliſh, which obliged them to halt. One might ſee the king's regiment, with thoſe of la Couronne and Aubeterre, entrenched behind the heaps of their comrades who were either killed or wounded. In the mean time two battalions of French and Swiſs guards were getting off by different roads, acroſs the lines of cavalry which were above two hundred fathom behind them. The officers, who rallied them, met M. de Lutteaux, firſt lieutenant general of the army, who was returning, betwixt Antoin and Fontenoi. *Ah, Gentlemen*, ſaid he, *do not rally me, I am wounded and obliged to retire.* He died ſome time after in unſpeakable torments: before he retired, he ſaid to the ſoldiers he met belonging to the regiment of guards, *My friends, go and join your comrades that are guarding the bridge of Calonne.* Others hurried through a little bottom, which goes from Barri to *Our lady in the wood*, up to the very place where the king had taken poſt, oppoſite the wood of Barri, near la Juſtice. Their grenadiers, and the remainder of the two battalions, rallied under the count de Chabannes towards the redoubt of Eu, and there ſtood firm with M. de la Sonne, who formed it into one battalion, of which he took the command, becauſe, though young, he was the oldeſt captain, the reſt having been either killed or wounded.

The Engliſh column kept firm and cloſe, and was continually gaining ground. Marſhal Saxe, with all the coolneſs imaginable, ſeeing how dubious the affair was, ſent word to the king by the marquis de Meuze, that he begged of him to repaſs the bridge along with the Dauphin, and he would do all he could to repair the diſorder. *Oh! I am very ſure he will do what is proper*, anſwered the king; *but I will ſtay where I am.* This prince was every moment ſending his aid-de-camps from brigade to brigade and from poſt to poſt. Each ſet out with two pages of the ſtables, whom he ſent back ſucceſſively to the king, and afterwards returned to give an account himſelf. The order of battle was no longer the ſame it had been in the beginning: of the firſt line of cavalry not above the half was left. The diviſion of count d'Eſtrées was near Antoin, under the duke of Harcourt, making head with its dragoons and with Crillon againſt the Dutch, who, it was apprehended, might penetrate on that ſide, while the Engliſh on the other were beginning to be victorious: the other half of this firſt line, which was naturally the duke of Harcourt's diviſion, remained under the command of the count d'Eſtrées. This line vigorouſly attacked the Engliſh. M. de Fienne led his regiment, M. de Cernay the Croats, the duke of Fitz-James the regiment called after his name: but little did the efforts of this cavalry avail againſt a ſolid body of infantry, ſo compact, ſo well diſciplined, and ſo intrepid, whoſe running fire, regularly ſupported, muſt of courſe diſperſe all thoſe ſmall detached bodies, which ſucceſſively

ceſſively preſented themſelves: Beſides, it is a known thing, that cavalry alone can very ſeldom make any impreſſion upon a cloſe and compact infantry. Marſhal Saxe was in the midſt of this fire; his illneſs not permitting him to wear a cuiraſs, he had a kind of buckler made of ſeveral folds of ſtitched taffety, which he carried on his ſaddle bow: he put on his buckler, and rode up with full ſpeed to give directions for the ſecond line of cavalry to advance againſt the column. The count de Noailles marched directly with his brigade, compoſed of the regiment of his name, of which the eldeſt of the family is always colonel; the only privilege of the kind in France, and granted to the firſt marſhal of the name of Noailles, who raiſed this regiment at his own expence. The regiment belonging to the duke de Penthievre made alſo a part of this brigade. The count de Noailles fell on with great bravery; the marquis de Vignacourt, captain in this regiment, the worthy deſcendant of a family which has given three grand maſters to the order of Malta, ruſhes with his ſquadron to attack this column in flank; but the ſquadron was cut in pieces in the midſt of the enemy's ranks, except fourteen troopers who forced their way through with M. de Vignacourt. An Engliſh ſoldier drove his bayonet with ſuch violence into this officer's leg, quite through the boot, that he was obliged to leave both bayonet and fuſil: the horſe having received ſeveral wounds ran away with his maſter; while the but-end of the muſket trailing on the ground widened and tore the wound, of which the captain died a little while after. Out of fourteen troopers,

who had broke through the column, ſix remained, who were ſoon made priſoners; but the Engliſh ſent them back the next day out of regard to their bravery.

The count d'Argenſon, ſon of the ſecretary at war, charged the enemy with his regiment of Berri, at the ſame time that the regiment of Fiennes was alſo advancing. He came on to the attack three times at the head of a ſingle ſquadron; and upon a falſe report his father thought him killed. The count de Brionne, the chevalier de Brancas, the marquis de Chabrillant headed and rallied their troopers; but all theſe corps were repulſed one after the other. The count de Clermont-Tonnere, maſter de camp of the cavalry, the count d'Eſtrées, and the marquis de Croiſſi, were every where: all the general officers kept riding from brigade to brigade. The regiments of the colonel general, and Fiennes, with the Croats, ſuffered greatly: that of prince Clermont was ſtill more roughly handled, twenty two of their officers having been wounded, and of the Croats twelve. All the ſtaff officers were in motion: M. de Vaudreuil, major general of the army, rode every minute from right to left. M. de Puiſegur, meſſieurs de ſaint Sauveur, de ſaint Georges, de Mezieres, aid quarter maſters, were all wounded. The count de Longaunai, aid major general, received a wound of which he died a few days after. It was in theſe attacks that the chevalier d'Apcher, a lieutenant general, (whoſe name is pronounced *d'Aché*) had his foot ſhattered by a ball. Towards the end of the battle he came to give an account to the king, and ſpoke a long

while

while to his majeſty without expreſſing the leaſt ſign of pain, till at length the violence of the anguiſh obliged him to retire.

The more the Engliſh column advanced the deeper it became, and of courſe the better able to repair the continual loſſes which it muſt have ſuſtained from ſo many repeated attacks. It ſtill marched on, cloſe and compact, over the bodies of the dead and wounded on both ſides, ſeeming to form one ſingle corps of about ſixteen thouſand men, though it was then in three diviſions.

A great number of troopers were driven back in diſorder as far as the very place where the king was poſted with his ſon; ſo that theſe two princes were ſeparated by the crowd that came tumbling upon them. The king did not change colour; he was concerned, but ſhewed neither anger nor inquietude. Happening to obſerve about two hundred troopers ſcattered behind him towards *Our Lady of the wood*, he ſaid to a light horſeman; *go and rally thoſe men in my name, and bring them back.* The light horſeman gallopped, and led them back againſt the enemy. This man, whoſe name was *de Jouy*, did not imagine he had done any great feat; the miniſter inquired after him a long while, to reward him, before he could be found. During this diſorder the brigades of the life-guards, who were in reſerve, advanced of themſelves againſt the enemy. Here the chevaliers de Suze and de Saumery were mortally wounded. Four ſquadrons of gendarmes arrived at this very inſtant from Doway, and, notwithſtanding the fatigue of a march of ſeven leagues, they immediately engaged the enemy:

but all theſe corps were received like the reſt with the ſame intrepidity, and the ſame running fire. The young count de Chevrier, a Guidon, was killed; and it happened to be the very ſame day that he was admitted into his troop. The chevalier de Monaco, ſon of the duke de Valentinois, had his leg pierced through. M. du Gueſclin received a wound on the foot. The carabiniers charged the enemy; but had ſix officers killed, and one and twenty wounded. All theſe attacks were made without any concert or agreement, and are what we call irregular charges, in which all the bravery in the world is of no manner of uſe againſt diſcipline and order.

Marſhal Saxe, though extremely weakened with the fatigue, was ſtill on horſeback, riding gently in the midſt of the fire: he paſſed cloſe under the front of the Engliſh column to obſerve every thing that paſſed towards the left near the wood of Barri. There they were going on in the very ſame manner as towards the right; endeavouring, but in vain, to throw the column into diſorder. The French regiments preſented themſelves one after the other; while the Engliſh, facing about on every ſide, placing properly their cannon, and always firing in diviſions, kept up this running and conſtant fire when they were attacked; after the attack they remained immoveable, and ceaſed to fire. The marſhal perceiving a French regiment at that time engaged with the enemy, and of which whole ranks dropped down, while the regiment never ſtirred, aſked what corps that was; they told him it was the regiment de Vaiſſeaux, commanded by M. de Guerchi; he then cried out; *admirable indeed!*

deed! Two and thirty officers of this regiment were wounded, and one third of the ſolddiers killed or wounded. The regiment of Hainault did not ſuffer leſs: their colonel was the ſon of the prince de Craon, governor of Tuſcany: the father ſerved the enemy: and his ſons the king. This hopeful youth was killed at the head of his troop; near him the lieutenant colonel was mortally wounded; nineteen officers of this corps were wounded dangerouſly, and two hundred and ſixty ſoldiers lay dead upon the ſpot.

The regiment of Normandy advanced; but they had as many officers and ſoldiers wounded as that of Hainault: they were headed by their lieutenant colonel M. de Solenci, whoſe bravery the king commended on the field of battle, and afterwards rewarded by making him a brigadier. Some Iriſh battalions fell next upon the flank of this column: colonel Dillon was killed, fifty ſix officers were wounded, and thirteen fell upon the ſpot.

Marſhal Saxe then returns by the front of the column, which had advanced three hundred paces beyond the redoubt of Eu and of Fontenoi. He goes and ſees whether Fontenoi ſtill held out; there they had no more ball, ſo that they anſwered the enemy's ſhot with nothing but gunpowder.

M. du Brocard, lieutenant general of artillery, and ſeveral other officers of the ordnance, were killed. The marſhal then deſired the duke d'Harcourt, whom he happened to meet, to go and beſeech his Majeſty to remove farther off; at the ſame time he ſent orders to the count de la Marck, who defended Antoin, to quit that poſt with the

regiment

regiment of Piedmont. The battle ſeemed to be paſt all hopes, they were bringing back their field pieces from every ſide, and were juſt upon the point of removing the artillery of the village of Fontenoi, though a ſupply of ball was come; they had even begun to ſend off the train. Marſhal Saxe's intention was now to make his laſt effort againſt the Engliſh column. This enormous maſs of infantry had ſuffered much, though it ſtill ſeemed to be of the ſame depth: the ſoldiers were ſurprized to find themſelves in the middle of the French camp without any cavalry: they continued unſkaken, but did not appear to receive further order: their countenance was bold and undaunted, and they ſeemed maſters of the field of battle. If the Dutch had advanced between the redoubts of Battens, and acted vigorouſly in conjunction with the Engliſh, the battle would have been loſt beyond all recovery, and there would have been no retreat, either for the army, or, in all probability, for the king and his ſon. The ſucceſs of a laſt attack was dubious. Marſhal Saxe, knowing that the victory, or an intire defeat, depended upon this attempt, thought of preparing a ſafe retreat, at the ſame time that he was doing all that lay in his power to obtain the victory. He ſent orders to the count de la Marck to evacuate Antoin, and to move towards the bridge of Calonne in order to favour this retreat in caſe of a laſt diſappointment. This order was extremely mortifying to the count de la Marck, who ſaw the Dutch ready to take poſſeſſion of Antoin the moment he quitted it, and to turn the king's artillery againſt his own army.

The

The marſhal ſent a ſecond order by his aid-de-camp M. Dailvorde; it was intimated to the count de Lorges who was made anſwerable for the execution of it; ſo that he was obliged to obey. At that time they deſpaired of the ſucceſs of the day; but the greateſt events depend on the moſt trivial circumſtances, on a miſtake, on ſome unexpected ſtroke.

Thoſe who were near the king, muſt have imagined the battle was loſt, knowing that they had no ball at Fontenoi, that moſt of thoſe who belonged to the ordnance were killed, that they alſo wanted ball at the poſt of M. de Chambonas, and that the village of Antoin was going to be evacuated.

Thoſe who were near the duke of Cumberland, muſt have had a bad opinion of the day, becauſe they ſtill imagined themſelves expoſed to the croſs-fire of Fontenoi and of the redoubt of Barri. They were ignorant that the French were firing only with powder; the Dutch, who could not have been informed of the orders given for evacuating Antoin, did not advance; the Engliſh horſe which might have completed the diſorder into which the French cavalry were thrown by the Engliſh column, did not appear; they could not advance without coming near to Fontenoi or to the redoubt, the fire of which ſtill ſeemed uniform. Here it will be aſked why the duke of Cumberland did not take care to have that redoubt attacked in the beginning, ſince he might have turned the cannon that was there againſt the French army, which would have ſecured him the victory. This is the very thing he had endeavoured to effect. At eight

o'clock

o'clock in the morning, he ordered brigadier Ingolſby to enter the woods of Barri with four regiments in order to make himſelf maſter of that poſt. The brigadier obeyed; but perceiving the artillery pointed againſt him, and ſeveral battalions who lay flat on their bellies, he went back for cannon. General Campbell promiſed him ſome, but this general was mortally wounded at the very beginning of the engagement, with a ball fired from that very redoubt, and the cannon was not ready ſoon enough. Then the duke of Cumberland, afraid of nothing but of loſing time, had taken the reſolution of paſſing on with his infantry, in defiance of the fire of the redoubt; and this enterprize, which one would imagine muſt have proved fatal to him, had hitherto ſucceeded.

They now held a tumultuous kind of a council around the king, who was preſſed by the general, and in the name of France not to expoſe his perſon any longer. At this very inſtant arrived the duke de Richlieu, lieutenant general of the army, who ſerved as aid-de-camp to the king: he was come from reconnoitring the column and Fontenoi; he had charged the enemy with the regiment of Vaiſſeaux, and with the life guards; he had alſo made M. Bellet advance with the gendarmes under his command, and theſe had ſtopped the column which now no longer advanced. Having thus rode about and fought on every ſide without being wounded, he preſents himſelf quite out of breath, with his ſword in his hand, and all covered with duſt. *Well, Reſce*, ſays marſhal Noailles to him (this was a familiar expreſſion uſed

by

by the marſhal) *what news do you bring us, and what is your opinion? My news,* ſays the duke of Richlieu, *is that the victory is ours, if we have a mind; and my opinion is that we immediately bring four pieces of cannon to bear againſt the front of the column: while this artillery throws it into diſorder, the king's houſhold and his other troops will ſurround it. We muſt fall upon them like foragers, and I'll lay my life that the day is ours. But Fontenoi,* ſaid they, *is poſſeſſed by the enemy. I come from thence,* ſaid the duke, *it holds out ſtill. We muſt ſee,* replied they, *whether the marſhal has not deſigned this cannon for ſome other uſe.* He anſwered them, *there is no other to make of it.* He was convinced himſelf, and he perſuaded the reſt. The king was the firſt who approved of this important propoſal, and every body elſe joined in the opinion. He gave orders therefore that inſtantly they ſhould go and bring four pieces of cannon. Twenty rode away directly on that errand; when a captain of the regiment of Tourraine, whoſe name was Iſſards, aged one and twenty, perceived four pieces of cannon which they were carrying back; he gave notice thereof directly, and that very evening he had the croſs of St. Lewis.

The king charged the duke de Pequigni, who has now the title of duke de Chaulnes, to go and ſee thoſe four pieces pointed: they were deſigned, they ſaid, to cover the retreat. *We ſhall make no retreat,* ſaid the duke de Chaulnes, *the king commands that theſe four pieces contribute to the victory.* Upon which M. de Senneval, lieutenant of artillery, goes and plants them directly oppo-

ſite

ſite to the column. The duke de Richlieu gallops full ſpeed in the king's name to give orders to the king's houſhold to march: he communicates this news to M. de Monteſſon the commanding officer, who is tranſported with joy, and immediately puts himſelf at their head. The prince de Soubiſe aſſembles his gendarmes under his command; the duke de Chaulnes does the ſame with his light horſe; they all draw up in order, and march. The four ſquadrons of gendarmes advancing at the right of the king's houſhold, the horſe grenadiers at their head, under their captain M. de Grille; and the muſketeers commanded by M. de Jumillac, ruſh boldly on. The dauphin was advancing with ſword in hand to put himſelf at the head of the king's houſhold; but they ſtopped him, telling him that his life was too precious. *Mine is not precious*, ſaid he, *it is the general's life that is precious the day of battle.*

In this important moment, the count d'Eu and the duke de Biron at the right, beheld with concern the troops quitting their poſt at Antoin; the count de la Marck their commander with reluctance obeying. *I will anſwer*, ſaid the duke de Biron, *for his diſobedience, I am ſure the king will approve of it now that there is ſo great a change in our favour*; *I anſwer that marſhal Saxe will think it right.* The marſhal coming up at that very time, was of the duke de Biron's opinion. The general having been informed of the king's reſolution, and of the good diſpoſition of the troops, readily acquieſced. He changed opinion when he was obliged to change it. He made the regiment of Pied-

mont return to Antoin; he moved, notwithſtanding his weakneſs, with great velocity to the right and to the left, and towards the Iriſh brigade, ſtrictly recommending to all the troops he met upon his way not to make any more irregular charges, but to act in concert.

Whilſt he was with the Iriſh brigade, attended by M. de Lowendahl and my lord Clare; the duke de Biron, the count d'Eſtrées, and the marquis de Croiſy, were together on the right, oppoſite the left flank of the column upon a riſing ground: they perceived the Iriſh and the regiment of Normandy who were advancing towards the right flank. *Now is the time*, ſaid they to one another, *to march on our ſide, the Engliſh are beaten.* M. de Biron puts himſelf at the head of the king's regiment; thoſe of Aubeterre and Courten follow him; and all the reſt advance under the count d'Eſtrées. Five ſquadrons of Penthievre's regiment follow M. de Croiſſi and his children; the ſquadrons of Fitz-James, Noailles, Chabrillant, Brancas, and Brionne, advanced with their colonels, though they had received no orders; and it ſeemed as if there was a perfect harmony between their movements, and all that had been done by M. de Richlieu. Never was the king better ſerved than at that very inſtant: it was the quickeſt and moſt unanimous movement. My lord Clare marches up with the Iriſh; the regiment of Normandy, the French guards, and a battalion of Swiſs advancing higher up towards the redoubt of Eu. All theſe corps move at the ſame time; the Iriſh commanded by my lord Clare, againſt the

front

front of the column, the guards higher up, under M. the count de Chabannes their lieutenant colonel. They were all ſeparated from the Engliſh column by a hollow way; they force through it firing almoſt muzzle to muzzle, and then fall upon the Engliſh with their bayonets fixed on their muſkets. M. de Bonnafanſe, at that time firſt captain of the regiment of Normandy, who was afterwards the firſt that jump'd upon the covert-way of Tournay, was now the firſt of his regiment that broke through the column: but the officers of the French guards had already made an impreſſion. The carabiniers betwixt the Iriſh and the king's houſhold, were then piercing through the firſt ranks; they were ſeen to run about and to rally in the midſt of the enemy, when the crowd and their impetuoſity had diſordered their ranks. Unluckily they miſtook the Iriſh, who have near the ſame uniform as the Engliſh, for Engliſh battalions; and fell upon them with great fury. The Iriſh cried out *Vive France*, but in the confuſion they could not be heard; ſo that ſome Iriſh were killed through miſtake.

The four cannon which the duke of Richlieu had called for, and by the duke de Chaulnes had been levelled within one hundred paces of the column, had already made two diſcharges which thinned the ranks, and began to ſhake the front of the enemy's army. All the king's houſhold advanced towards the front of the column, and threw it into diſorder. The cavalry preſſed it hard upon the left flank; marſhal Saxe had recommended to them particularly to bear upon the

enemy

enemy with the breaſts of their horſes, and he was well obeyed. The count d'Eſtrées, the young prince de Brionne, killed ſome of the enemy themſelves in the foremoſt ranks: the officers of the king's chamber charged pell mell with the guards and the muſketeers. All the pages were there with ſword in hand; ſo that the marquis de Treſſau, who commanded the brigade of the king's body guards, ſaid to the king after the battle, *Sire, you ſent us pages whom we took for ſo many officers.*

The duke de Biron at that time held the Dutch troops in play, with the king's regiment and the brigade de Crillon. He had already ſent M. de Boiſſeul, a firſt page of the great ſtable, to tell the king that every thing went well on his ſide, and that he would undertake to give a good account of the enemy. On the other ſide, the marquis d'Harcourt, ſon of the duke of that name, came to acquaint the king in his father's name, that the troops were rallied on every ſide, and that the victory was ſure.

At this very inſtant arrived the count de Caſtellane, diſpatched by marſhal Saxe to inform the king that the field of battle was recovered. In ſeven or eight minutes the whole Engliſh column was diſperſed, general Ponſonby, my lord Albemarle's brother, five colonels, five captains of the guards, and a prodigious number of officers were ſlain. The Engliſh repaſſed the hollow way betwixt Fontenoi and the redoubt in the greateſt diſorder; the ground which had been taken up by their column, as well as the hollow way, was ſtrewed with wounded and dead bodies.

We have entered into this long detail concerning the battle of Fontenoi, becauſe its importance deſerved it. This engagement determined the fate of the war, paved the way for the conqueſt of the Low Countries, and ſerved as a counterpoiſe to all diſappointments. The preſence of the king and his ſon, and the danger to which theſe two princes and France were expoſed, greatly increaſed the importance of this ever memorable day.

SUPPLEMENT to the Hiſtory of the WAR of 1741.

Affairs of Genoa in 1746 *and* 1747.

THE war which began upon the Danube, and almoſt at the very gates of Vienna, and which at firſt ſeemed as if it would have laſted only a few months, was at the end of ſix years removed to the ſouthern coaſts of France. And at the ſame time that the Auſtrians and Piedmonteſe, maſters of Genoa and of the whole coaſt, were making preparations to enter Provence, Brittany was likewiſe menaced by an Engliſh fleet.

The deſign of the enemy, eſpecially the Engliſh, was at that time to invade Provence; to deſtroy Port L'Orient, and with it the Eaſt India company; to make themſelves maſters of Port Louis, which muſt fall after L'Orient; to lay Brittany under contribution; to excite the Calviniſts

niſts towards Rochelle, Languedoc and Dauphiné, to a revolt; while they were concerting meaſures to attack the different ſettlements of France in Aſia and America, and depended on making themſelves maſters of Naples, after they had brought Genoa under the yoke.

Theſe vaſt expectations were not without ſome foundation; for the Auſtrians were maſters of Italy, and about this time the Engliſh had hardly any more enemies at ſea. Indeed the king's campaigns and marſhal Saxe's victories made amends for every thing. But the king of Great Britain reckoned that he ſhould ſoon make the Dutch a warlike power, by obliging them to accept of his ſon-in-law for their ſtadtholder; beſides, he was then contracting for an entire army of Ruſſians, to ſtop the progreſs of the king's army in Flanders.

In this conjuncture Brittany was no more in a poſture of defence than Provence. An old officer who commanded at Port Louis, wrote word to court: *I diſcovered on the 28th of September a fleet whoſe number is infinitely increaſed; but I ſhall eaſily withſtand theſe Engliſhmen.* The 2d of October he wrote again: *they have landed at Polduc with three hundred and fifty flat bottom boats and fifty five men of war. If we had muſkets we ſhould beat them; but the peaſants have nothing but pitchforks.*

By theſe letters it appears to what danger that country was expoſed, notwithſtanding the confident expreſſions of an old commander. General Sinclair, with about ſeven thouſand regular troops, landed without oppoſition at the mouth of the little river of Polduc. From thence he advanced to

Plemur, and encamped on an eminence which commanded L'Orient and Port Louis. Six days were ſpent before he cannonaded the town. If the Engliſh loſt all this time, the French did not employ it better; for thoſe who commanded in the place, and who were able to defend themſelves a long time, as they had artillery and twelve thouſand militia of Brittany, capitulated the firſt day of the attack, upon receiving a declaration of general Sinclair, in which, according to cuſtom it was ſignified that he would deſtroy every one that reſiſted, with fire and ſword.

Such miſtakes, it is ſaid, were committed on this occaſion, as nothing except the conduct of general Sinclair could ſurpaſs. Never was there a ſtronger inſtance how greatly the fate of an important enterprize, and of a whole province, depends on a critical minute, on falſe advice, on a pannic terror or a miſtake. Early in the morning the drums of the militia who were not as yet perfect in their trade, beat the general. General Sinclair aſked the people of the country why they beat the general after capitulation. Anſwer was made, that the garriſon had laid a ſnare for him by capitulating, for they were going to fall upon him with twelve thouſand men. During this converſation the wind changed, and admiral Leſtock made a ſignal to give him notice of it; upon which Sinclair afraid of being attacked, and of not having an opportunity of re-embarking his men, precipitately quitted his poſt, and returned to Plemur in ſome confuſion.

In the mean time thoſe who had made the capitula-

tulation, came out of the town to make their ſubmiſſion to the Engliſh general: but they could hardly believe their eyes, when they found no body in the camp. So prepoſterouſly did the Engliſh reimbark, juſt when the French were come to bring them the keys of the town. Aſhamed of their bad conduct, they made a deſcent upon the little iſland of Quiberon; which was an enterprize as ill contrived, as that of Port L'Orient had been executed. For this being almoſt a deſert iſland, the taking of it could anſwer no purpoſe. In ſhort this great armament produced nothing but blunders and laughter, whereas every other part of the war was but too ſerious and too terrible.

At that time a revolution was carrying on in Genoa, much more important and more ſurprizing than that which had lately alarmed the coaſt of Brittany.

The Auſtrians uſed the right of conqueſt with the utmoſt rigour. The Genoeſe having exhauſted their reſources, and given away all the money of their bank of St. George, to pay ſixteen millions of livres, deſired to be forgiven the other eight. But the thirtieth of November 1746, notice was given them on the part of the empreſs queen, that they muſt not only pay the ſum, but likewiſe as much more, for the maintenance of nine regiments who were quartered in the ſuburbs of St. Pietro d'Arena, and Biſagno, and in the neighbouring villages. At the publiſhing of theſe orders, deſpair ſeized every inhabitant; their miſery was at the utmoſt pitch; their commerce ruined, their credit loſt, their bank exhauſted, their

laid waſte, their fine country houſes which embelliſhed the invirons of Genoa, plundered, and in ſhort the inhabitants treated as ſlaves by the ſoldiery. They had nothing more to loſe but their lives, and there was not a ſingle Genoeſe who did not ſeem determined to loſe the laſt drop of his blood, rather than to bear any longer with ſo ſevere and ſo ignominious a treatment.

The captive Genoeſe reckoned among the reſt of their diſgraces the loſs of the kingdom of Corſica, which had been long in a ſtate of rebellion; and now they made no doubt but the malecontents would be ſupported by the victorious arms of Auſtria. In this chaos of revolutions, Corſica which pretended to be oppreſſed by Genoa, as Genoa by the Auſtrians, rejoiced at the calamity of her maſters. This ſurpluſage of affliction affected only the ſenate; by loſing Corſica they were deprived only of a phantom of authority; but the reſt of the Genoeſe were a prey to thoſe real ſorrows with which human miſery is attended. Some of the ſenators privately and with great addreſs fomented the deſperate reſolutions, which the inhabitans ſeemed diſpoſed to take. It behoved them to act with the greateſt circumſpection on this occaſion; for in all probability a haſty and ill concerted inſurrection would have been attended with the deſtruction of both ſenate and city. The emiſſaries of the ſenate contented themſelves with ſaying to thoſe who ſeemed to have moſt credit among the people: *How long will you wait till the Auſtrians come to cut your throats in the arms of your wives and children, to rob you of the little food*

you

you have yet left? Their troops are diſperſed without the incloſure of the walls: in the city there are only thoſe that guard the gates; you are here above forty thouſand men able to ſtrike a blow; is it not far preferable to die, than to be ſpectators of the ruin of your country? By a thouſand ſuch diſcourſes were the minds of the people inflamed; but they did not yet ſtir, as no body had dared to ſet up the ſtandard of liberty. An opportunity ſoon offered. The Auſtrians wanted to remove ſome cannon and mortars out of the arſenal of Genoa, for the expedition into Provence; and they obliged the inhabitants to perform this drudgery. The people murmured, but obeyed. An Auſtrian captain happening to ſtrike an inhabitant, who did not beſtir himſelf ſufficiently, this was a ſignal, at which the people aſſembled, roſe, and armed themſelves in a moment, with every thing they could lay hold on, with ſtones, ſticks, ſwords, muſkets, weapons of every kind. The people who had not the leaſt thoughts of defending the town when the enemy was at a diſtance, roſe up in its defence when it was in the poſſeſſion of the Auſtrians.

The marquis de Botta, who was then at St. Pietro d'Arena imagined that this popular inſurrection would ſubſide of itſelf, and that this tranſient fury would ſoon be ſucceeded by fear. The next day he only reinforced the guards of the town gates, and ſent ſome detachments into the ſtreets. Upon this the people aſſemble in greater crowds than the preceding day, and flock to the doge's palace, demanding the arms that were kept there. The doge made no anſwer: but the domeſtics

pointed out another magazine; the people immediately run and break it open, and arm themſelves; about a hundred officers are diſtributed among the populace; they barricade the ſtreets; and though it was now become neceſſary to eſtabliſh ſome kind of order in the midſt of this ſudden and furious commotion, yet it did not in the leaſt ſlacken the popular ardour.

One would think that this and the following days, the conſternation which had ſo long poſſeſſed the minds of the Genoeſe, was transfuſed into the Auſtrians. The marquis de Botta was in St. Pietro d'Arena with ſome regiments, and yet did not attempt to fight the people with his regular troops: he ſuffered the revolted to make themſelves maſters of the gates of St. Thomas and St. Michael. The ſenate, as yet dubious whether the people would maintain what they had ſo bravely begun, ſent a deputation to the Auſtrian general in St. Pietro d'Arena. The marquis of Botta was negotiating when he ſhould have been fighting. He told the ſenators that they ſhould arm the Genoeſe troops, whom he had left diſarmed in the town, and that they ſhould join the Auſtrians to fall upon the rebels, as ſoon as he had made a proper ſignal. Some of the ſenators, who were devoted to the enemy, promiſed to execute his orders: but it was not to be expected that the Genoeſe ſenate ſhould join with the oppreſſors of their country, to finiſh its deſtruction.

The Germans, depending on the correſpondence they had in the town, advanced to the gate of Biſagno, through the ſuburb of that name, but they were

were received with a volley of cannon and muſket-ſhot. The people of Genoa compoſed an army: the drum was beat in their name, and orders were iſſued out upon pain of death, to every citizen to make his public appearance in arms, and to range himſelf under the colours of his reſpective ward. The Germans were attacked at the ſame time in the ſuburb of Biſagno, and in St. Pietro d'Arena. The alarm-bell was rung in all the villages of the valleys; and the peaſants aſſembled, to the number of twenty thouſand. A nobleman of the houſe of Doria, at the head of the people, attacked the marquis of Botta in St. Pietro d'Arena; when the general and his nine regiments were obliged to ſave themſelves by flight. They left four thouſand priſoners behind them, and above a thouſand ſlain, with all their magazines and equipages, and retired in great diſorder to the poſt of Bocchetta; hither they were purſued by the peaſants, who forced them at length to quit this poſt, and to fly as far as Gavi. Thus it was that the Auſtrians loſt Genoa, for having deſpiſed and oppreſſed the people, and for being ſo ſimple as to believe that the ſenate would join with them againſt the inhabitants, who had taken up arms in defence of that very ſenate. Europe was ſurprized to ſee how a weak people, who had never been bred to arms, and whom neither the incloſure of their rocks, nor the kings of France, Spain, and Naples, had been able to ſave from the Auſtrian yoke, had the bravery, unaſſiſted, to break their chains, and to expel their conquerors.

In this commotion a great many violences were com-

committed: the people plundered ſeveral houſes belonging to the ſenators ſuſpected of favouring the Auſtrians. But what was more ſurprizing in this revolution is, that this very ſame people, who had four thouſand of their conquerors in priſon, and had driven away the remainder, did not turn their arms againſt their maſters. It is true, they had chiefs: but theſe were pointed out by the ſenate, and none of them were conſiderable enough to uſurp the authority for any time. The people choſe thirty ſix citizens for their governors; but they added four ſenators to the number, *viz.* Grimaldi, Scaglia, Lomelini, and Fornari. Theſe four nobles gave an account of every thing to the ſenate, who did not ſeem to concern themſelves any longer in the government, though they governed in effect: they diſavowed at Vienna the revolution which they were fomenting at Genoa, and for which they apprehended the moſt dreadful chaſtiſement. Their miniſter at that court declared, that the Genoeſe nobility had no ſhare in that change which was called a revolt. The court of Vienna behaving ſtill as maſters, and fancying they ſhould ſoon be able to recover Genoa, intimated to this miniſter, that the ſenate ſhould inſtantly pay the eight millions of livres, which was the remaining part of their fine, and thirty millions more for the damage done to their troops; that they ſhould reſtore all the priſoners, and puniſh the ringleaders of the revolt. Theſe laws, which a provoked maſter might have preſcribed to an impotent and rebellious ſubject, ſerved only to confirm the Genoeſe in the reſolution of defend-

ing themſelves, and in the hopes of driving from their territory thoſe whom they had expelled their capital. The four thouſand Auſtrians in the priſons of Genoa, were hoſtages that quieted their fears.

It is in thoſe times of calamity and deſpair, that the ſpirit of patriotiſm and magnanimity ſeem to exert themſelves with the greateſt force; whether it be that thoſe virtues become more conſpicuous in the general deſolation, or whether indeed the love of one's oppreſſed country does not revive the whole vigour of the ſoul, ſo as to raiſe human nature above itſelf. Of this was ſeen a memorable inſtance in Auguſtin Adorno. This brave republican commanded in the town of Savona, which belongs to the territory of the republic. It was beſieged by the king of Sardinia; and the ſenate having ſubmitted to the Auſtrians, ordered him to give up the town. He made anſwer, that he could not obey any other orders than thoſe of a free ſenate; after which he held out long enough for ſuccours, but none came. The people of Genoa, though victorious at home, were not ſufficiently diſciplined to engage in the open field; and France being obliged to defend Provence, could not ſpare any troops for her allies on the other ſide of the Alps. Thus the valour of Auguſtin Adorno * only ſerved to make him priſoner of war, at the very time that Genoa was delivered: but he merited the praiſes of his country, as well as of the king of Sardinia, to whom he ſurrendered.

This revolution of Genoa was of great ſervice to

* 16th of Decem be.

Pro-

Provence. The Auſtrians, who already poſſeſſed one third part of the country, no longer received either proviſions or ammunition by the way of Genoa, as in the beginning. And yet they were advanced as far as the river of Argens, with a deſign of attacking Toulon and Marſeilles, aſſiſted by the Engliſh fleet.

They ſoon * took the iſlands of St. Margaret and St. Honorat, which had only a garriſon of invalids.

In thoſe iſlands ſeveral ſtate priſoners were confined; who flattered themſelves with hopes that the Engliſh would ſet them at liberty: but the commanding officer capitulated ſo quick, that they permitted him to carry off all his priſoners, with other effects belonging to the king, and his little garriſon. It is ſurprizing that ſeveral public journals ſhould pretend to ſay, that this commanding officer was the marquis de Dreux, lieutenant general and grand maſter of the ceremonies. The miſtake is owing to this, that the marquis de Dreux is lord of thoſe iſlands. The perſon who commanded there, was an old officer, who was tried by a council of war, and condemned to impriſonment, for ſurrendering ſo precipitately.

After the taking of thoſe iſlands, the enemy began the ſiege of Antibes. It was not an eaſy matter to ſtop the progreſs of an army that had ſeventy one battalions, eight thouſand irregulars, and eight thouſand horſe. Marſhal Belleiſle was entruſted with this undertaking.

Upon his arrival he could only be a ſpectator of the deplorable ſituation, and of the deſpondency of

* December 16.

the whole province, as well as of the king's troops. He was neither able to hinder the paſſage of the Var, nor to protect the country occupied by the Auſtrians, who expected a reinforcement of thirty battalions and ſixteen ſquadrons, with cannon, ammunition, and proviſions. The coaſts were guarded by a few frightened militia. The troops, under no ſort of diſcipline, took hay and ſtraw by force from the inhabitants; and the mules employed in the ſervice of the army, periſhed for want of food. The enemy had plundered and laid waſte the whole country, from the Var to the river of Argens and the Durance. Their generals permitted their troops to pillage Vence and Graſſe for the ſpace of ſix hours, becauſe theſe towns had not been expeditious in paying their contributions.

The infant don Philip and the duke of Modena were at Aix in Provence, where they waited to ſee what efforts France and Spain would make to extricate themſelves from this cruel ſituation. The ſupplies were as yet far off; while the dangers and wants were preſſing. Marſhal Belleiſle began with borrowing fifty thouſand crowns in his own name, to relieve the moſt urgent neceſſities. He was obliged to perform the office of intendant, and of commiſſary of the ſtores. Then, as faſt as the troops came in, he made himſelf maſter of different poſts, where he ſtopped the progreſs of the Auſtrians. On the one ſide he covered Caſtellane on the Verdon, when the Auſtrians were going to take poſſeſſion of it; and on the other he ſecured Draguignan and Brignoles.

At length, towards the beginning of January,

1747, finding his army increaſed to ſixty battalions and twenty two ſquadrons, and being ſeconded by the marquis de Mina, who furniſhed him with four or five thouſand Spaniards, he looked upon himſelf as in a condition to attack the enemy. Count Brown who commanded the Auſtrians, and the marquis of Ormea who was at the head of a body of Piedmonteſe, were a great deal ſuperior to him in forces. But they met with greater difficulties in procuring ſubſiſtence for their army. This is an eſſential point, which fruſtrates the end of moſt invaſions. Their firſt defeat * began with a poſt in the neighbourhood of Caſtellane, from whence a captain of the regiment of Lyonnois, whoſe name was Daupenet, drove them with ſword in hand. They occupied from Sener to S. Tropes the ſpace of forty leagues. A conſiderable body was beaten and diſlodged from † Caſtellane by the count de Maulevrier, and by the marquis de Taubin a Spaniard. Another corps were alſo diſlodged, and obliged to repaſs the river of Argens. Marſhal Belleiſle, by his winning manner, engaged the Spaniſh troops to ſecond him in every attempt. The marquis de la Mina joined with him in all his ſchemes; and this perfect harmony contributed greatly to their common ſucceſs. The enemy were purſued from poſt to poſt, and always with loſs. At length the marſhal obliged them to repaſs the Var, and delivered Provence.

There remained now § only one difficult enterprize for the king, and this was to relieve Genoa. During the whole war he had been occupied in

* January 7, 1747. † Jan. 21, 1747. § Jan. 24, 1747.

protect-

protecting his allies; firſt the emperor Charles VII. afterwards the prince of Spain don Philip, then the pretender to the crown of England, and finally the Genoeſe; and in the whole courſe of the war freſh dangers aroſe from his ſucceſſes.

Marſhal Belleiſle had now driven the Auſtrians and Piedmonteſe out of Provence: but there was reaſon to fear that this very enemy, who were ſtrong enough to guard the paſſage of the Alps, had alſo ſufficient ſtrength to fall upon Genoa, and afterwards upon Naples. Though Genoa had expelled the enemy from her walls, yet ſhe was ſtill blocked up by ſea and land. Count Schullemburg ſucceeded the marquis de Botta, and continually threatened the firſt incloſure. Admiral Medley took as much care as poſſible that no ſuccours ſhould enter the harbour. Yet the king of France was continually ſupplying them. Marſhal Belleiſle began with ſending them twenty thouſand lewidores by eight officers, among whom this ſum was equally diſtributed. He ordered them to throw the money into the ſea, in caſe they ſhould not be ſo lucky as to eſcape. The officers arrived with the money, proviſions, and ſoldiers, and eſpecially with great promiſes. With this encouragement the Genoeſe withſtood all the attacks of the Auſtrians, as well as the propoſals of the court of Vienna; for this court had ſtill the aſſurance to treat with a people, whom ſo ſevere a treatment and ſo glorious a revolution muſt have rendered ever irreconcileable. The Auſtrians demanded money of them, when they had none; and on the contrary the king of France gave them money.

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It was not enough for the French to have obliged the Auſtrians and the Piedmonteſe to repaſs the Var; it was alſo incumbent upon them to paſs that river in purſuit of the enemy, to drive them beyond the mountains, to enter Italy once more, and above all things ſpeedily to relieve Genoa. There was no ſending any ſuccours to that city but by ſea; and theſe were to ſteal unknown to the Engliſh fleet, which was cruizing off that coaſt. At that time there were but eight ſhips at Toulon, and theſe laid up, three frigates, and two barks; ſo that they were able to arm only ſix gallies, for want of ſeamen. In the mean time the Auſtrians, aſſiſted by the Piedmonteſe, threatened to recover poſſeſſion of Genoa. Count Schullemburg, nephew of the Venetian general, had reinforced his army with Albanians: theſe are the ancient Epirots, who are eſteemed to be as good ſoldiers as their anceſtors. He had repaſſed the Bocchetta, and kept Genoa cloſely blockaded; while the country both to the right and left was given up to the fury of the irregular troops, to plunder and devaſtation. Genoa was frightened, and the conſternation they were in produced ſome ſecret correſpondence with their oppreſſors: to complete their miſery, there was a great diviſion betwixt the ſenate and the people. The town did not want proviſions, but money; they were at the expence of eighteen thouſand florins a day, to maintain the militia who fought in the country, or defended the city. The republic had no regular troops well diſciplined, nor no experienced officer: they could expect no ſuccours but by ſea, and even theſe at the hazard

of being picked up by the Engliſh fleet, as happened to thoſe which had been ſent to prince Edward. Theſe ſuccours were expected from France and Spain; and if they did not come ſoon, all was loſt.

The king of France had already ſent a million of livres to the ſenate. The galleys were now ordered to ſet out from Toulon and Marſeilles with about ſix thouſand men on board. They put into Corſica and Monaco, by diſtreſs of weather, but chiefly to avoid the Engliſh fleet. The maſter of a ſmall veſſel belonging to this convoy, who was a foreigner, took this opportunity to commit a treacherous action. He gave notice of the embarkation to the Engliſh admiral, who came and fell upon the convoy; but they loſt only ſix ſmall veſſels with about a thouſand ſoldiers. At length the firſt ſuccours reached Genoa to the number of about four thouſand French, who revived the drooping hopes of the Genoeſe.

Soon after * arrived the duke of Boufflers, to take upon him the command of the troops that were to defend Genoa, and whoſe number daily increaſed. The general himſelf was obliged to take his paſſage in an open boat, in order to eſcape admiral Medley's fleet. If the Engliſh had been as diligent and artful as they were magnanimous in their undertaking, they would have had a proper number of ſmall craft well armed, which would have kept near the ſhore when their great ſhips could not, and have rendered it extremely difficult for the French to ſend any ſuccours. For want

* Laſt of April.

of ſome ſuch precaution, detachments of French, Spaniards, and Swiſs, were ſucceſſively coming into Genoa from the coaſt of France; at the ſame time they were ſupplied with proviſions from the coaſt of Italy, while the Engliſh were only bare ſpectators.

The duke of Boufflers was now at the head of about eight thouſand regular troops, in a town which was blocked up, and expected every moment to be beſieged. There was very little order among them, not much proviſions, and no powder; beſides, the heads of the people were not properly ſubordinate to the ſenate. The Auſtrians had ſtill ſome ſecret intelligence in the town. Thus the duke of Boufflers had as much difficulty to deal with thoſe whom he was come to defend, as with the enemy. Yet he eſtabliſhed order in every quarter; at the ſame time proviſions of all kinds were imported in plenty, by means of a ſecret conſideration given to the captains of the Engliſh ſhips; ſo greatly do public calamities depend on private intereſt.

The Auſtrians had ſome monks on their ſide; the ſame arms were employed againſt them with greater force. The prieſts were prevailed upon to refuſe abſolution to thoſe who ſhould balance a moment between the enemy and their country. An hermit put himſelf at the head of the militia, whom he encouraged by his enthuſiaſtic declamation, and by his example in fighting; he was killed in one of thoſe daily ſkirmiſhes, and with his laſt breath exhorted the Genoeſe to defend their country. The ladies pawned their jewels to ſupply the expences of the neceſſary operations.

But

But of all these encouragements the most powerful was the valour of the French troops, whom the duke of Boufflers often employed in attacking the enemy in their posts beyond the double inclosure of Genoa. There were a great many more, the possession of which would have rendered the operations of the siege much easier to the enemy: one among the rest on the coast of Rivarola, of which the Austrians and Piedmontese made themselves masters *, very near the mountain of the two brothers, and from whence they were by all means to be dislodged. This action conducted with as much prudence as vigour, revived all their hopes. The count de Lanion distinguished himself on this occasion, as also the chevalier de Chauvelin †, who was wounded in the engagement. Here the French lost colonel la Faye, son of the captain of the guards whose character is so well known in Paris. This young officer had inherited from his father a very high degree of courage with great application to the sciences; and from his uncle he had learnt to improve in the most agreeable parts of polite literature. The author of this narrative, who knew his merit, cannot too much lament his loss.

The Genoese succeeded in almost every one of those little skirmishes, which at that time engrossed their whole attention, and are afterwards swallowed up in the multitude of more important events. But what disconcerted all the measures of the Austrians in Italy was the progress marshal Belleisle was making with his army. He had obliged the enemy to raise the siege of Antibes, while his brother retook

* May 21, 1747. † June 13.

the isles of St. Margaret within sight of the English fleet: he was master of Nice, Villafranca, and Ventimiglia; and the king of Sardinia was obliged to recall his troops to defend his own dominions. The Austrians, being obliged to make a stand against Belleisle's army, could not besiege Genoa in form, lest the French should advance; so that the court of Vienna at length gave orders for raising the blockade.

The duke of Boufflers did not long enjoy this happiness and glory. He died of the small pox the very day the enemy retired. He was son of marshal Boufflers, a general much esteemed under Lewis XIV. a man of honour, and a good subject. The son inherited the amiable qualities of his father.

THE END.

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